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THE WORK OF CARDINAL GASQUET IN THE FIELD OF PRE-REFORMATION HISTORY.

IN THE life of communities and nations no less than in the life of individuals few momentous actions take place that can be explained correctly by the immediate circumstances. For nearly every apparently wayward act of man or woman there will have been some traceable psychological preparation; childhood's readings, casual remarks by teachers, preachers, parents and friends, periods of illness and convalescence, glimpses of other worlds and other hopes treasured from happy moments of vacations and temporary or permanent changes in physical environment. But always in this period economic considerations have played a part. It is the same with historical events of moment. They are not explainable by immediate visible causes. One must look before and behind. Otherwise the writing of history becomes a mere parrot recitation.

Unfortunately, much history has been recorded on the same psychological basis as that employed in advertising; the constant reiteration of a statement that has obtained currency. A man or party rises to power. It then becomes heresy to criticize the circumstances under which power was attained. Every one who desires preferment must condemn the opposition and laud those in office. Such as cannot do so conscientiously either maintain a discreet silence or become martyrs to their faith, and their punishment is pointed to as an example of what happens to dissenters from the approved opinion. This willingness to make truth subservient to expediency invariably produces false witnesses who pose as his-

torians by writing accounts acceptable to those in power. These accounts are used as propaganda, in the second generation becoming "the generally accepted" version of the events. The urgency of the occasion having subsided, those who question the account may then not be regarded as heretics so much as fools or misguided individuals. Later still, when the accounts have so far receded into the past as to furnish material for scholarly research, the work of discovering the truth is enormously increased by the unfair method of record. The scholar is confronted by masses of distorted evidence and a multiplicity of accounts that are merely repetitions of the commonly accepted versions. Often there has been a wholesale destruction of all discoverable documents controverting the authorized edition. Even such destruction is not always the result of malice, but rather of iconoclastic faith, the destroyer regarding the material as he would an idol whose existence could only work evil. Always, however, something survives; the correspondence of private individuals, books of accounts of expenditure, suppressed editions overlooked in dusty corners. In the light of these, with great patience, it becomes possible to dissect the official records and interpret them in a new light.

In rebuilding the account of the events that preceded and led up to the Reformation, Cardinal Gasquet was less restricted in material. He was rather overwhelmed with it. Not only was it necessary to traverse an immense store of literature to eliminate from his research what had already been so thoroughly accepted as to need no repetition, but he was confronted with archives so extensive as to present a formidable task in a selection of the material that had been hitherto suppressed or overlooked and which might illuminate in new ways the subject of his work. "If I have insisted," says he, "more on the facts which tell in favor of the monasteries than on those which tell against them, it is because the latter are well known and have been repeated, improved on and emphasized for three centuries and a half, whilst that there is anything to say for the monks, has been little recognized. . . . My belief is that the facts speak strongly enough for themselves and I have endeavoured to add as little as possible of my own to the story they tell." [1]

Until quite recent times popularly accepted accounts of the Reformation treated it as a spontaneous outburst of a deep religious spirit pervading the mass of the people. It was regarded as a passionate repudiation of the errors of Rome due to a secret study of the Bible in defiance of persecution, a revulsion from the iniquities

[1] Francis Aidan Gasquet, D. D.: "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries." John Hodges, Covent Garden, London, 1902, p. 11.

of the monastic system.[2] The truth has been so rigorously excluded from the text-books used by Protestants that each succeeding generation has grown up in the unquestioned acceptance of the account authorized and adopted by those interested in the changed conditions. A horror of monk and monastery has been imparted with early knowledge at each mother's knee—the teaching first imbibed and latest lost. Anecdotes about the wickedness of monk and nun have been listened to and accepted as simple truth; and even well-wishers of the monastic institute have thought it better to observe or counsel silence. Only in relatively recent times has it been possible to state openly the results of historical research without liability to the penalties of heresy. Doubtless many of those immediately responsible fully believed they were teaching the truth. The crime was in stifling discussion. It did not occur to many people that the ranks of teachers were carefully recruited from those who were "sound on the Authorized Version." [3] "The necessary assumption which underlies the inherited Protestant history of the Reformation in the sixteenth century is the general corruption of manners and morals no less than of doctrine, and the ignorance of religious truths no less than the neglect of religious precepts on the part of both clergy and people." [4]

The first stage of the questioning of the official view that had any hope of a public hearing was by those who attributed the Reformation to Henry VIII. and his Vicar-General, Cromwell,[5] viewing it as a result of the quarrel of that king with the Court of Rome. Whatever may be said against this view, it is doubtful whether the business would have been brought to a head with such rapidity had not the royal power supported the revolt.[6] "Twenty Wycliffes, all

[2] "C'est un tableau intéressant et fréquement reproduit que celui du pays —an ou du marchand allemand du xvi. siècle, replié, à l'heure du repos, sur la lecture de la Bible et sur la contemplation de sa vie intime, s'isolant du reste du monde, réclamant de lui-même, de sa volonté persévérante, de sa ténacité étroite et loyale, de sa foi, l' amélioration, la confiance, le salut. La religion ostentatoire de ses pères lui parait tout à coup une impiété; il brise des images; la lointaine Italie, toute éclatante de lumière résonnante de chants que l'amour dispute à la foi, s'illustrant de débris et de l'imitation de l'antiquité, devient, pour lui, labête de l'Apocalypse; Rome est la Babylone; le pape est l'Antechrist." Gabriel Hanotaux: "Etudes Historiques sur le XVIe et le XVIIe Siècle." Hachette, Paris, 1886, p. 90.

[3] "It is necessary to be a Protestant, actually to believe in the Protestant doctrine, in order to see anything valuable at all in Protestantism. . . . It is neither a church, nor a creed, nor a religion." F. Harrison: "The Creeds Old and New," "Nineteenth Century," October, 1880.

[4] Abbot Gasquet: "The Eve of the Reformation." George Bell & Sons, London, 1905, p. 392.

[5] Cardinal Gasquet adopts the spelling Crumwell. The name has often been so pronounced, but it is not phoneticized by other important historians of the period.

[6] It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Cardinal Gasquet attached considerable weight to the views of Gabriel Hanotaux. So far as has been noted, however, in only one instance does he refer to that writer by name and then gives no specific reference to the work quoted. To imagine any desire for concealment on the part of the Cardinal would be a gross injustice and a complete misunderstanding of the transparent honesty of his

highly popular, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would not have brought about a Reformation like that under which we have lived during the last centuries. That was a thing which could only have been effected by royal power—as in England, or by subversion of royal authority through the medium of successful rebellion—as in Scotland."[7]

The two explanations alluded to above—the religious and the political—are regarded by Cardinal Gasquet as insufficient, either singly or taken together, to account for the upheaval of the sixteenth century. He does not desire to refute either, but merely to place them with a third factor—the economic—which, to him, if not the most important, appeared to exercise the greatest influence in bringing about the result.[8] His work in the field of pre-Reformation history, however, is not so much an endeavor to discover and exhibit all the causes that contributed to that great change as to reëxamine the generally accepted views and to show that they are not justified by the facts. In the accomplishment of this end he takes us back to a period nearly two hundred years prior to the event. From thence he traces the preparation of the ground for what followed. Testing the vast mass of evidence from which were constructed the charges against the Church and the religious houses,

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character. One may surmise that the omission is due to an opinion that the ultimate conclusions of M. Hanotaux are merely incidental to larger considerations. The view of M. Hanotaux is that the Church succeeded to the political power of Rome: "Sur les débris de l'empire romain, dans les ténèbres du moyen âge, l'Église du Christ avait élevé un édifice politique que ses fondateurs n'avaient pas prévu. L'idée de l'unité du monde, de la paix dans le sein d'une seule domination, s'était conservée à Rome, et les papes l'avaient héritée des empereurs. Cependant, malgré l'influence que l'Église avait su prendre sur les barbares, elle n'avait pu les plier entièrement sous sa discipline. Des coutumes germaniques, peu a peu, était nê le régime féodal, unitaire dans son principe, mais très particulariste dans son application." ("La Contre-Révolution Religieuse au XVIe Siècle," p. 91.) He shows that the component states of the old empire resented the political supremacy of the Church, and that especially in England and Germany the effort to throw off this supremacy found its opportunity in the Reformation. (Almost precisely analogous is the opportunity now being embraced for utilizing the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution as a lever for the reassertion of States rights.) Professor Maitland says ("History of English Law," Vol. I., pp. 93-94): "The whole of Western Europe was subject to the jurisdiction of one tribunal of last resort, the Roman curia. Appeals to it were encouraged by all manner of means, appeals at almost every stage of almost every proceeding. But the Pope was far more than the president of a court of appeal. Very frequently the Courts Christian which did justice in England were courts which were acting under his supervision and carrying out his written instructions."

[7] "Eve of the Reformation," op. cit., p. 187, quoting from letter to "Guardian" by Professor Gairdner, March 1, 1899.

[8] "Religious revolution was but the sequel of political and economic causes, without which, in the opinion of M. Hanotaux, the religious questions at issue would not have been able to convulse Europe." ("England Under the Old Religion," p. 49.) No reference is given to the opinion quoted, but the following statement appears in the work of M. Hanotaux referred to in footnote 6 supra. "La question posée par la Réformation fut surtout politique et économique. La révolution morale fut profonde, certainement; mais on peut douter que, par elle-même, elle eût suffi pour bouleverser l'Europe." (p. 89.)

he shows that innumerable items of paramount importance have been suppressed. He disproves the weighty allegation that the Church opposed the Renaissance. That there was any extensive outburst of religious spirit of a nature dissenting from the established Church, or in any way repudiating the errors of Rome, that there was any real restraint on the study of the Bible or any widespread revulsion from the alleged iniquities of the monastic system, must be regarded as illusions. On the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to prove a deep devotion to the monastic system and the institutions resulting from the existence of the religious houses. His conclusion is that the majority of the people were sincerely attached to the Church and that the Reformation was carried through by treachery and force, the adoption of its results being secured by well-directed propaganda backed by heavy penalties for heresy. In more than a dozen beautifully written volumes he approaches the matter from various sides. The books are not ostensibly connected, but they are all in the same field. The work would appear to have been commenced in a purely scholarly spirit. His admiration had been won by the lives of great men of past generations, and he yearned to know more concerning them. The ruins of the magnificent abbeys of England awoke a spirit of inquiry into the lives that had been lived in them and the circumstances of their destruction. He turned to their records and found them filled with allusions to historical events that had attracted too little attention through having occurred in centuries when the page of history was overcrowded with drama. Little by little he realized that the full, true story of the Reformation had never been written. His work grew, and he felt called upon to amplify his researches into such comprehensive undertakings as general surveys of English monastic life, the eve of the Reformation, and the long recital of the pillage of the monasteries under Henry VIII. Each volume as it progressed revealed the need for another volume. Once in the house of truth, he found that each opened door offered fresh joys but not an end to his quest; only more doors inviting entrance, with ever-increasing attractions.

If accessories before the fact are essential elements in an accurate appraisal of the conditions surrounding an event, accessories after the fact are often no less important. The Reformation furnishes no exception to this dictum, and Cardinal Gasquet would be the last to deny that assertion. That which at first sight might be regarded as a digression will therefore be justified by the assistance it will afford in a proper comprehension of what has been accomplished by Cardinal Gasquet. Subsequent history throws a flood

of light on the motives of the active minority that constituted the propelling force of the movement; what in modern parlance might be called "the lobby." All through the Reformation period, which commenced with Wycliffe or earlier, and is only now coming to a close, there can be traced the operations of an active minority supplying the propaganda and bending to its ends a variety of diverse movements—movements that acting singly might have done no more to increase the volume of the main stream than promising rivers that disappear in the sand or in some sunken lake instead of joining the waters that flow to the great sea. This active minority was undoubtedly the little group that afterwards became known as Puritans. Wycliffe and Luther were of the Puritan caste, which, having succeeded in bringing about the Reformation, discovered that its ends had not been attained, and therefore, a century later, proceeded still further in the same direction by disrupting the Protestant Church. No party has ever so thoroughly demonstrated the truth that the majority never rules, but that power always rests in the hands of an unscrupulous active minority able to focus in a single immediate object a variety of popular slogans of diverse significance. By this means the Puritans have retained a power altogether disproportionate to their numbers, and have been able to wield it in opposition to the real underlying convictions of the great disunited majority. The earliest Puritans did not dream of a separation from the Church; they wanted to capture that Church. They recognized that its prestige and the wealth of the ruling class were one. The Puritans were an unenfranchised middle class craving for privilege and power, but hopelessly excluded from participation in the adornments that characterized the class that held that privilege and power; a lowly but potential class moved to disassociate power from the finery they could not share. The Puritan attack was upon the outposts of authority and the luxuriance of ritual in which authority was dressed. It was a class that disagreed with the ritual, with the manner of life that the ruling class defended, because it disagreed with the assumption of power that was thus symbolized in the minds of the people. Against this assumption the Puritans pitted their doctrines of moral and ritual austerity. A social movement could not hope to enlist the emotions of the masses unless it moved in the religious plane, and therefore the true issue was concealed under questions of ritual. In the accomplishment of this devious purpose, advantage was taken of the popular discontent that manifested itself in France in the insurrection of the peasants of 1358, in England in 1381 and 1497, in Germany in 1525 and in the Netherlands in 1539. The Puritans

eventually betrayed these movements after utilizing their impetus in the same way that they utilized the private affairs of the King of England while disowning his motives. Not directly named, yet distinctly recognized, this undercurrent, this operation of the unseen hand, is traced with certainty by Cardinal Gasquet as the force that produced events entirely unjustified by the facts.

It has been noted above that Cardinal Gasquet commences his inquiry in the events of the fourteenth century. Coincidently, many historians have selected the same period; but from a very different motive. It was then that Wycliffe lived, and he has been called "The Morning Star of the Reformation" on account of some of his doctrines being similar to those of the reformers of the sixteenth century.[9] The upholders of the Wycliffe theory, however, do not offer anything except an extension in time of the growth of the belief that the Reformation was solely a religious movement. They never seek to explain the slogan of Wycliffe's followers, sung everywhere,

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?

The terrible insurrections of peasants against nobles are entirely disregarded. It is Wycliffe who requires to be explained by an inquiry extending back to still earlier centuries. The statutes passed for the burning of heretics after the death of Wycliffe were aimed far less at any ecclesiastical defect than at the social teachings of the Lollards, among whom there must have been many—if not Wycliffe himself—who were more properly morning stars of the French Revolution than of the Reformation. Cardinal Gasquet avoids the common error. He goes back to the fourteenth century for other purposes than to link up with Wycliffe's teachings, perceiving that Wycliffe was a passing phenomenon of a quite different series of events. The anti-clerical spirit was a product of the Reformation, not its cause. "It must be dated only just before the dawn of the Reformation, when the popular mind was being stirred up by the new teachers against the clergy."[10] The true historical starting point for the examination of the causes directly leading to the Protestant Reformation is to be found in the great pestilence, since known as the Black Death, to distinguish it from other colossal epidemics. This plague first appeared in 1348 and 1340, again in 1361 and 1369, with a recrudescence in 1407. To this subject Cardinal Gasquet has devoted an entire volume that has come to be

[9] "The cardinal theological doctrine of the Reformation—justification by faith—is in Wycliffe, I should say, conspicuous by its absence."—Professor James Gairdner, "Guardian," March 1, 1899.
[10] "Eve of the Reformation," p. 105.

recognized as one of the most authoritative works in English history. Coming between the battles of Crecy and Poitiers and at the very time of the creation of the first Knights of the Garter, a period of exceptional pomp and rejoicing, the catastrophe has been passed over casually by most historians as seeming "to fall aside from the general narrative, as though something apart from, and not consonant with, the natural course of events. Even John Richard Green has not realized the enormous effects, social and religious, which were directly traceable to the catastrophe." [11] The Black Death inflicted a wound deep in the social body and produced nothing less than a revolution of feeling and practice. It was a turning point in the national life. "It formed the real close of the mediæval period and the beginning of our modern age. It produced a break with the past, and was the dawn of a new era. The sudden sweeping away of the population and the consequent scarcity of laborers, raises, it is well recognized, new and extravagant expectations in the minds of the lower classes, or, to use a modern expression, labor began to understand its value and assert its power." [12]

There has been considerable controversy as to the actual numbers of the victims of the Black Plague. Many writers have minimized the loss of life by attempting to prove that the population of Europe at that date was considerably less than generally supposed. French antiquaries, however, have arrived at the astounding conclusion that the population of France before the great pestilence was equal to what it was in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, so important an authority as Thorold Rogers estimated that

[11] Francis Aidan Gasquet: "The Black Death of 1348 and 1349." George Bell & Sons, London, 1908; second edition, p. 20.

[12] Ib., p. 22.

We of to-day are better able than those of a generation ago to realize what must have been the consequences of such an appalling event. In a few years of the present century some thirty millions of able-bodied workers have been taken from fields and workshops, never to return, while vast numbers of those remaining have become enfeebled in mind and body by starvation, hardship and disease. Allowing for the smaller population at the earlier date one would almost have to double the recent losses to form an adequate idea of the condition of Europe in the latter half of the fourteenth century. At that time also the world had not progressed so far in the use of machinery and appliances for the production of the necessaries of life. On the other hand, there is this difference in mitigation of the earlier catastrophe and accentuating the present one. In the former case there was little destruction of fixed capital; the loss was all of human material. A far greater proportion of the population at that time was employed in the production of the necessaries of life than in the manufacture of luxuries. The urban and dependent population was much less. A loss of food production affected fewer people beyond the actual producers than it does to-day. The cultivators of the soil were the majority of the population and a larger proportion of what they produced was consumed by their class by reason of its relatively greater numbers. Therefore the reduction of the numbers of the workers counterbalanced to a great extent a reduction in production. To-day the loss of each producer affects four or five other persons, and so large a part has fixed capital in twentieth century economy that its destruction has an effect equivalent to human loss where methods are more primitive.

the population of England at that date was only two and a half millions. Cardinal Gasquet adopts a remarkable method of showing that Professor Rogers must have made far too low an estimate. By taking the mortality of the clerical body and its recognized proportion to the general population, he shows that the adoption of Rogers' estimate would lead to the conclusion that one man in every twenty-five was a priest. He says: "On the supposition that five-and-twenty thousand of the clerical body fell victims to the epidemic, and estimating that of the entire population of the country one in every hundred belonged to the clergy, and further that the death rate was about equal in both estates, the total mortality in the country would be some 2,500,000. This total is curiously the same as that estimated from the basis of population returns at the close of the memorable reign of Edward III., evidencing a total population before the outbreak of the epidemic, of some five millions." [13] The Cardinal's method is, to say the least, ingenious, and a very valuable contribution to statistics that have differed widely. To have something approaching an accurate record of the extent of the devastation is highly important, not merely from a scholar's point of view, but as enabling a juster estimate to be formed of the consequences that ensued.

The immediate result of this great loss of population was a loss of State revenue. "Masters generally pleaded the excessive wages they were called upon to pay, as an excuse for not finding money to meet royal demands, and it was for this reason rather than out of consideration for the pockets of the better classes that Edward III. issued his proclamation to restrain the rise of wages. But he was quickly forced to understand 'that workmen, servants and laborers publicly disregarded his ordinances' as to wages and payments, and demanded, in spite of them, prices for their services as great as during the pestilence and after it. For disobedience to the royal orders regulating wages, the king charged his judges to imprison all whom they might find guilty. Even this coercion was found to be no real remedy, but rather a means of aggravating the evil, since districts where his policy was carried out were quickly

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[13] "The Black Death of 1348 and 1349," Francis Aidan Gasquet. George Bell & Sons, London, 1908, second edition, p. 238.

It will be recalled that a census was taken at the close of the reign of Edward III. for the purpose of levying a poll-tax. It was, however, not actually assessed until the year after his death.

"Owing to the inherent dryness of such matters, modern writers have made little advance to a more correct knowledge of the population of European countries in those ages. Much, however, might be done. As usual, ecclesiastical documents form the surest basis for any calculation and episcopal registers enable us to arrive at actual numbers. . . . Only from the number of the clergy carried off by the epidemic can an estimate be formed as to the number of lay people who died." Op cit., pp. 85-86.

found to be plunged in greater poverty by the imprisonment of those who could work and of those who dared to pay the market price for labor." [14] Small holdings could not be cultivated for lack of holders and were therefore thrown into large pasture farms.[15] A single pasture farm would not produce a revenue or rental equivalent to that secured from the intensive tillage of the small holdings that preceded it.[16] The public treasury had been depleted by the cost of the wars with France and the king was forced to devise fresh methods of raising revenue. Among others was the sequestration of the revenues of alien priories,[17] and ultimately the capitation tax to which reference has been previously made.[18] In the year 1408—the year following another visitation of the pestilence—Henry IV. availed himself of the income of vacant bishoprics, a course that led to the keeping of such offices vacant as long as possible or else appointing only such persons as would contribute heavily for the favor. Two years later, Sir John Oldcastle, a convert to Lollardry, was instrumental in proposing in Parliament that all lands should be taken out of clerical hands, covering the underlying motive by showing how many military officers, almshouses for the poor and parish priests could be provided with the proceeds.[19] The scheme on this occasion was unsuccessful. Henry VII. economized his revenues by appointing civil officers to religious offices, the emoluments of which were to recompense them for their State duties.[20] It will thus be seen that the inroads on Church revenues at

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[14] R. O. Originalia Roll, 26 Edward III., m. 25.

[15] "The country did not entirely recover for the next 150 years: since in the reign of Henry VIII. Poole and other towns in Dorsetshire were included in that numerous list of places whose desolated buildings were ordered to be restored." ("History of Dorset," Hutchins, third edition, p. 5.)

[16] "A solitary shepherd was employed on land which had hitherto provided occupation for sixty or eighty persons." (State Papers. Henry VIII., Vol. LX., 431.)

[17] Alien priories were those resulting from the Norman conquest; estates granted to French religious houses. Churches, manors and tithes came into possession of Norman abbeys, and monks were placed by them in England to collect the revenues. There were nearly 150 such estates. Those belonging to the great abbey of Cluny remitted sixty thousand pounds a year. In time of war these revenues were regarded as alien property and a royal receiver was appointed, but with each peace the property was restored. The Lollards urged the king to confiscate the estates permanently, and under Henry V. they went so far as to ask him to take all church property, thus concealing their real designs under patriotic disguise.

[18] See footnote 13 supra.

[19] "Popular writers pretended to a great zeal for the poor and lower orders and pictured the advantages to be derived from a redistribution of the worldly wealth of the Church, and in particular of the religious bodies in England. They made scurrilous tales and descriptions of monastic life." ("Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op. cit., p. 33, Vol. I.)

[20] The practice of employing ecclesiastics in civil offices (e. g. Warham and Wolsey as Archbishops and then as Lord Chancellors) and in diplomacy made them a body of absentees. "They were engaged in almost every kind of duty except that for which the benefices had been created." Henry VII. and Henry VIII. used them so as to get free services and thus effect economies in revenue, which was a misapplication of Church funds. ("England Under the Old Religion," F. A. Gasquet, G. Bell & Sons, London, 1912, p. 52.)

the period of the Reformation were not novel, but had principally resulted from devices for replenishing revenues depleted through the changes caused by the Black Death. The secession from the old religion made the permanent seizure of the properties of the Church fit in with the designs of the Lollards (or Puritans) and brought royal assistance to the makers of the Reformation.[21] The underlying stimulus to the movement was thus largely economic rather than religious. The disorderly crowds that assisted in the work of destroying the Church buildings, at a later stage, were the semi-criminal classes attracted to the Puritan interest by its pretended espousal of the cause of the oppressed.

In another respect the pestilence had an effect the counterpart of which is found in present conditions. A new rich class arose on the ruins, to a large extent taking the place of the diminished upper class, especially in contributions to ecclesiastical furniture. The chattel wealth of the religious houses increased enormously during the fifteenth century. "Churches in the early sixteenth century were incomparably better equipped in England than in Italy.[22] The mortality among the clergy had made it difficult to procure sufficient candidates for the ministry[23] and great laxity prevailed in the making of appointments. The appointees were frequently young, inexperienced, and not always influenced by the highest motives. The religious houses became more self-centred from lack of the former intercourse with large numbers of tenants and poor persons, while the decreased revenues curtailed the opportunities for charity. The ministry, with its inferior personnel, tended to a closer acquaintance with the new bourgeoisie and the more corrupt sections of the community. "Disorganization of the whole ecclesiastical system effected a religious paralysis. Instead of turning men to God, the scourge turned them to despair, in all parts of Europe."[24] The effects of these changes were doubtless felt for a long period and

[21] "State papers of Henry VIII.'s reign prove increasing demands on monastery and convent; farm after farm, manor after manor, benefice after benefice, office after office were yielded up in compliance with requests that were really commands." (E. W. Brewer, "Henry VIII.," Vol. I., p. 50.

There had been a custom of "uses" enabling a disposition of estates in spite of bar to same. The Statute of Uses, directed to abolishing powers of bequest, is familiar to every student of the Law of Real Estate, but no legal text-book connects it in any way with the Reformation. The practice was to convey land "to such uses" as the conveyor should appoint by his will. The Statute of Uses abolishing this method was really passed to enable the king to obtain the fruits of feudal tenure. The subsequent Statute of Wills was passed after he had taken all he wanted.

[22] "England Under the Old Religion," op. cit., p. 22.

The adoption of the attitudes and associations of an aristocracy is characteristic of those suddenly raised to positions of wealth. Such are frequently the most liberal supporters of the Orthodox faith.

[23] During the pestilence in the county of Norfolk 527 out of 799 priests died. ("Henry VIII. and English Monasteries," op. cit., Vol. I., p. 3.)

[24] "Black Death," op. cit., p. 22.

much of the evidence of such dissoluteness as existed is gathered from the ensuing years. But the whole of the fifteenth century and part of the sixteenth had yet to pass before the Reformation, and in that period Cardinal Gasquet finds the reëstablishment of better conditions. In spite of the continual appointment of political men to the more lucrative clerical positions the spirit of the Church prevailed and carried with it the loyal devotion of the mass of the people.

Since the Reformation, it has been customary for those who would wish to constitute it a landmark of economic and intellectual progress to asperse the conditions that preceded it. It did not, however, need Professor Thorold Rogers to prove the century preceding that event to have been the "golden age of the English laborer,"[25] and that "conditions were much the same throughout Europe."[26] There is a far more valuable witness in the person of Luther himself, who says "Any one reading the chronicles will find that since the birth of Christ there is nothing that can compare with what has happened in our world during the last hundred years. Never in any country have people seen so much building, so much cultivation of the soil. Never has such good drink, such abundant and delicate food been within the reach of so many. Dress has become so rich that it cannot in this respect be improved. Who ever heard of commerce such as we see it to-day? It circles the globe; it embraces the whole world! Painting, engraving—all the arts—have progressed and are still improving. More than all, we have men so capable, and so learned, that their wit penetrates everything in such a way, that nowadays a youth of twenty knows more than twenty doctors did in days gone by."[27] With such an admission from the leader of the movement, evidence from other sources becomes not controversial but confirmatory,[28] and the miseries of the later sixteenth century leading up to the Poor Law of the end of Elizabeth's reign well justify the statement that "The Reformation was a catastrophe in which was overwhelmed the real progress of the previous century."[29] The religious houses "were more than landowners to those around them. The advisers and teachers of all, they had the work now undertaken by the guardian, the relieving

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[25] J. E. T. Rogers: "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," Sixth Edition, Swan Sonneschein, London, 1901; p. 542.

[26] "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," op. cit., p. 326.

[27] Luther Opera Omnia, tom. X., p. 58; Frankfort Ed.

[28] "Architecture, painting, sculpture, organ building, bell founding, and that which English skill had raised to the dignity of an art—embroidery—all were actively promoted at Croyland Abbey." ("Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op. cit., XXXI.)

[29] Abbot Gasquet: "Eve of the Reformation," op. cit., p. 8.

officer, the parish doctor and the schoolmaster[30] . . . To-day every pauper is made to feel by the cold charity extended to him in the poor-houses of the country, how cruelly he was robbed of his inheritance, by the destruction and spoliation of the monastic houses of the land."[31]

In more than one volume Cardinal Gasquet dwells affectionately on the earnestness of purpose that characterized the old monastic life.[32] His works on "English Monastic Life," "The Last Abbot of Glastonbury," "The Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond, the Monk of Edmundsbury" will always remain as classics for students of the peace and fervor that existed in the quiet eddies alongside the stormy currents of the Middle Ages. He extenuates the work of Henry VIII. by examining the relations of previous monarchs to the Church, even prior to the establishment of Parliament. But nothing can condone the final acts of the tragedy. Patiently and without heat he pursues his quest for the truth, where the facts point in that direction admitting such justification as exists for the popularly accepted views, and, as the evidence accumulates to show how false and perverted has been the teaching of the later centuries with regard to the great event, he sounds no note of exultation, but, with a placid, half-sad, holy smile, leaves the verdict to the reader in calm confidence as to the outcome.

Few charges have done more to discredit the old Church and to validate the acts of the reformers than the allegation that the Church was hostile to the Revival of Letters. On this account Cardinal Gasquet discusses the point at considerable length, returning to it again and again in different volumes. "What put a stop to the humanist movement in England, as it certainly did in Germany, was the rise of the religious difficulties, which, under the name of the 'New Learning' were opposed by those most conspicuous for the championship of true learning, scholarship and education."[33] Thus the "New Learning" opposed by the Church was not, as has been

[30] It may be stated that a guardian means "guardian of the poor, an elective officer, unpaid, who in England supervises the administration of relief to the destitute under various statutes passed for this purpose since the Reformation, and as an obvious necessity of that event." The relieving officer and parish doctor are paid officials acting under the authority of "Boards of Guardians."

[31] "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op. cit., XXVIII.

[32] "Continual drill and exercise, early hours, fixed times, appointed tasks, hard fare, stern punishments; watchfulness was to be incessant, obedience prompt and absolute; no man was to murmur. . . . Nothing was more easy to understand in those days in any man, next to his being a soldier, than his being a monk, it was the same thing, the same sort of life, but with different objects." (Dean Church: "Life of St. Anselm," c. iii.)

"All was done so quietly, so orderly, so naturally, that a world which has entered on the fruits of the labor may almost be excused if it does not recognize the hand that dug the soil and planted the tree." (Cardinal Newman, Hist. Sketches, 1873, p. 365.)

[33] "Eve of the Reformation," op. cit., p. 46.

misrepresented, the revival of letters, but the religious doctrines of the Reformers. Not least in importance is the elaborate testimony of Erasmus who, contrary to the generally accepted belief, should by no means be coupled with Luther. Through the writings of Erasmus it is shown that the Reformation was not a result of the Renaissance but was generally opposed to it, that the Church everywhere favored the revival of learning, and that the contrary view, like so many false beliefs, arose entirely out of an application of the same term to two entirely different matters. Those desiring to justify the new order seized upon a solitary mention of the term "New Learning" and generalized from this misapplication of the term that the Church opposed the Renaissance. From a mass of documents in the Public Record Office of England and in the British Museum, Cardinal Gasquet piles up the evidence in confirmation of Luther's own admission. Such men as Colet, More and Erasmus had no leaning to or sympathy with the Reformation as we know it. "Beyond all question, not only the Church in England on the eve of the change did not refuse the light, but both in its origin and later development, the humanist movement owed much to the initiative and encouragement of English Churchmen."[34] Bishop Fisher did all in his power to assist in the foundation of sound schools of learning at Cambridge, and especially to encourage the study of Greek. Said Erasmus: "This England dear to me on many accounts, is above all most beloved because it abounds in what to me is best of all, men deeply learned in letters. . . . Oh, how truly happy is your land of England, the seat and stronghold of the best studies and the highest virtues."[35] "There is abundant evidence to show that in the religious houses in England, no less than in the universities, there was a stirring of the waters, and a readiness to profit by the advance made in education and scholarship."[36] The average number of degrees at Oxford increased from 1506 to 1535. Then it rapidly fell, indicating that learning was being vigorously pursued up to the date of the suppression of the monasteries. The number of monks graduating had also increased. One object of

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[34] "Eve of the Reformation," op. cit., p. 19.

[35] Cardinal Gasquet refers to these passages as having been written on two different occasions, 1498 and 1517. The expressions may have been duplicated in the correspondence of Erasmus, but they can obviously be traced in a letter written from Louvain to Richard Pace on April 22, 1518. (Opus Epistolarum des Erasmi Roterodami, P. S. Allen, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913, Vol. 111.). "Utroque vero nomine vestrae gratulor Angliae, cum alias multis modis felice, tum istis titulis sic excellenti ut nulla regionum cum ea queat conferri. Nunc demum iuuet universam etatem apud Anglos exigere, ubi favore principum regnant bonae literae, viget honesti studium. . . . O vere splendidam vestrae Britanniae regiam, sedem et arcem optimorum studiorum ac virtutum!"

[36] "Eve of the Reformation," op. cit., p. 38.

sending members of religious houses to a university was to qualify them for "teaching the novices in their own house."[37]

The wholesale destruction of great libraries in England at the period of the suppression of the monasteries is an indirect indication of the new spirit which helped for a time to put an end to the revival of letters. "The same sickening story of destruction, wanton waste, pilfering, and mock auctions worse than plain pilfering, going on up and down the land. . . . Priceless works of art were taken as so many ounces of metal. . . . Manuscripts were sold for waste paper in vast quantities."[38] According to Erasmus, Luther "had never shown the least inclination for the new learning or its methods." On a broad survey the new learning received its chief support from the ecclesiastical authorities.[39] They were in no way hostile, but cordially approved of the critical investigation of the sacred text.

Cardinal Gasquet then proceeds to disprove the charges of alienation of the affection of the common people. "The Church had great power and it was naturally the guardian of the common people . . . the whole of our history shows that the Church was invariably on the side of the people. . . . Have we one single law that gives security to property or to life which we did not inherit from our Catholic forefathers?"[40] "The immense treasures of the churches were the joy and boast of every man and woman and child in England . . . regarded as their own, and part of their birthright."[41] The Church in those days was a social centre, "a practical reality in the ordinary affairs of life." Legal notices were given from the pulpits. Every adult had a voice in self-government . . . employment on holy days was inhibited and amusements were found by the Church, making it a true holiday. The Church guilds were benefit clubs, and savings banks, always solvent. The brotherhood tie was strongly realized. Loans without interest were granted to those in need, practically free pawnbroking. Village plays were given, with scenes from scripture history.[42]

In support of his contention that the supposed "revulsion from the iniquities of the monastic system" had no real foundation, Cardinal Gasquet examines at great length the history of the various

[37] "Caius College," by J. Venn; F. E. Robinson, London, 1901, p. 32.
[38] F. A. Gasquet: "England Under the Old Religion," G. Bell & Sons, 1912, pp. 6 and 9.
[39] Ib., p. 10.
[40] W. Cobbett: "A History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland," revised and edited by F. A. Gasquet; Benziger Bros., New York, pp. 384-5. Cobbett's words have weight from the fact that he was a Protestant born of and brought up by Protestant parents.
[41] Dr. Jessop: "Parish Life in England Before the Great Pillage," "Nineteenth Century," March, 1898, p. 443.
[42] "England Under the Old Religion," op. cit., pp. 25-36.

popular uprisings that occurred during the years when the process of suppression was being enforced.[43] These were all due to a determination by the people "not only to put a stop to future suppressions, but to demand the restoration of those houses which had already passed into the hands of the king."[44] There were risings in all parts of the country, south, east and north. The evidence of love for the Church, of attachment to the old religion, was general. The so-called Pilgrimage of Grace in which Roger Aske, at the head of some 60,000 men from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, advanced on the capital, was one of the most formidable. What happened just a century later to the Stuart king under very different circumstances might then have been the fate of Henry save for the peaceful inclinations of the people who were willing to endure much rather than plunge the country again into such civil war as that from which it had so recently emerged. The king was doubtful of his meagre forces, yet boasted that his subjects were eager and willing to have fought against the insurgents. "That the king's government had been in the greatest danger of overthrow cannot be questioned, and the persistency and earnestness with which the fidelity of the few troops Henry had collected to oppose the forward movement of the insurgents, is asserted, leads to a suspicion of even their loyalty to his cause."[45] Only by the grossest treachery was the continuation of the work of the reformers made possible. The king did not hesitate to lie abominably to secure his safety. The insurgents were promised satisfaction of their demands. Aske restrained them in the expectation that the king would redeem his promises. He traveled south and had an interview with the king. The very fact that Aske was unmolested while the king was in most brutal mood is evidence of the king's fear. Aske wrote out "a full and complete history of his connection with the rising and a straightforward and honest declaration of the various causes which led to the disturbance. It is from this invaluable document that many of the details of the rising are known. . . . It is significant that while other writings have been printed and their reports dinned into people's ears for the last two centuries, such a weighty document as Aske's expostulatory narrative to the king drawn up at Henry's express request to Aske in person, has never yet seen the light."[46] Having obtained the long delay consequent on the visit of Aske and obtained Aske's assistance in causing the dispersal of the insurgents, the king turned in all his fury on the unarmed populace. He sent a message

[43] Much evidence is found in the testimony of the numerous witnesses at the many trials that followed the retirement of the rebels.
[44] "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op. cit., p. 126, ii.
[45] "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op cit., Vol. II., p. 121.
[46] "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op. cit., Vol. II., p. 132.

in insulting terms excusing his acts by stating that no religious houses were suppressed "but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living was used, and that doth well appear by their own confessions subscribed with their own hands, in the time of our visitations." To this Cardinal Gasquet says "there is absolutely no record of any such confession."[47] It would be inconsistent with the transparent honesty of the Cardinal if he had wilfully overlooked any such record, and it would be strange indeed, if such a record existed, that it should have been destroyed or withheld by the custodians of the public documents to which full access was allowed for the purposes of this work, and when such records have consistently been kept and preserved by persons wholly interested in maintaining the conditions produced by the Reformation. One can only conclude that the statement of absence of evidence remains unchallenged, a statement of utmost importance to the propaganda of over three centuries in which the alleged moral condition of the houses has been a principal weapon.

The importance of unearthing such a document as Aske's expostulatory narrative can scarcely be over-estimated. On such documents and on the evidence of witnesses in the State trials that followed the king's betrayal of the people, Cardinal Gasquet has built up his refutation of the long accepted perversion of the true facts of the Reformation. There is no better work than the confutation of error and falsehood, and in this Cardinal Gasquet has succeeded in a degree rarely attained. Few historians could have been better qualified for this task. With an absence of bias, fact after fact is simply set forth; the questions put and the evidence marshaled temperately and impartially. The result can only be to startle one as to how the truth can have been so long successfully obscured. In a short essay it is impossible to do more than briefly indicate the methods adopted, here and there, by quotations, supplying specimens of the conclusions justified by the evidence. Out of their own mouth, by extracts from unquestionable State records, the makers of the Reformation have been convicted. With infinite patience the Cardinal has toiled through innumerable old papers, many of them long forgotten, many never read by any one since the date when first they were written; papers not readily decipherable, through being in forms of speech long since discarded, the sequence of events written down in the prolix style of a bygone age and often encumbered by a thick crust of crude legal formality. There is little cause for wonder as to what were the influences that operated in causing the circulation of false impressions and the sup-

[47] "Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries," op cit., Vol. I., p. 348.

pression of the facts of the great event when it is recalled that the strong ones of the nation were sharers in the plunder and thus committed to the policy. Lord Audley obtained nine religious foundations: Lord Clinton twelve, including the rich lands of the Benedictine abbey of Barking; the Duke of Northumberland eighteen; the Duke of Suffolk thirty: the Duke of Bedford the extensive estates of Croyland and Woburn and the Convent Garden in London that produces a ground rental of over one hundred thousand pounds a year. The fall of the monasteries transferred an income of more than ten million dollars of present money from the Church and the poor to the royal purse.[48] And yet from the accounts of the Treasurer of the Court of Augmentation—the officer specially appointed to receive the funds—it would appear that only one-fourth of this sum ever reached the treasury. The rest went to private individuals by various means.[49] "This much is certain, that a great number of men, officials of the Court of Augmentation, who, when appointed to the office, were possessed only of inkhorn and pen, were after two years able to rank in wealth and estates with the highest in the land."[50]

That Cardinal Gasquet has succeeded in his quest cannot be doubted by any one who will undertake the fascinating and agreeable task of perusing his various works and checking the extracts on which he has built his case. The conclusions are abundantly supported by first-hand testimony; the evidence is overwhelming. One side of the case has already been fully stated. He cannot therefore be charged with being a special pleader or in any way lacking in impartiality in addressing an audience that presumably is well informed on the popular version. As fair-minded people we are eager to hear the defense. When we have heard it there is no other conclusion than that previously the case had not been fairly presented. Weighing the evidence put forward by Cardinal Gasquet and balancing it against that with which we have long been familiar, at every step it becomes clearer that much of the truth has been hitherto suppressed. It is obvious that had there been no reason to suspect the veracity of the accepted version he would not have entered upon the inquiry. Such an attitude, however, does not necessarily imply an absence of the judicial temperament. There would never be any retrial if there were no assumption that something fresh could be revealed; but a competent judge avoids any conclusion until all the evidence is before him. Unfortunately there are prejudiced judges and prejudiced historians, but Cardinal Gasquet is

[48] Blunt: "Reformation," p. 369.
[49] R. O. Augmentation Office, Treas. Rolls., i. to iv.
[50] British Museum, Arundel MS., 151, f. 386.

not one of them. In his works the controversial is so subordinated to the scholarly element that, without extraneous information, one might be tempted to ask what is the author's creed. He never hesitates to admit that in what we have been told there is a foundation of truth; but that is a characteristic quality of all misrepresentations. He does not shrink from an unedited reproduction of the facts relied upon by the other parties, but he places them on the table with their omitted context or alongside more comprehensive evidence not hitherto taken into account. What we have hitherto been told may be the truth, but it is certainly not "the whole truth and nothing but the truth." A plunge into cold water produces a shock, the reaction to which is healthful invigoration; a plunge into the truth often produces a shock to ideas that we have previously accepted without question, but the reaction when we come to the surface of the sunny waves of the sea of knowledge repays a thousandfold whatever momentary suffering we may have endured in submitting our mind to a change of medium.

Cardinal Gasquet's works in elucidation of the causes and meaning of the Reformation will live through all time as a model of the highest class of historical inquiry, a record of earnest and painstaking work in the discovery of truth. He has devotedly followed that most difficult of roads, the marshaling of all available facts regardless of their effect on any hypothesis. Putting aside prejudice, he has cleared his mind of every conclusion not warranted by the evidence and has humbly and patiently recorded the verdict to which the assembled facts inevitably lead. In history, no less than in science, there is no other way to truth, the truth that alone can survive every assault, whose victory, however, long delayed, is the assured hope of all who are at one with the divine event to which creation moves, all who in silence and in purity of heart resolve that somebody or something shall be better for him ere he die.

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THE AFTERMATH OF THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION.

IN THE modern history of Scotland, as of Europe generally, the great dividing line is the Protestant Reformation. The change brought about by this upheaval makes it difficult to realize that what is now the home of a nominal Presbyterianism fast becoming pagan, was once a Catholic country; that the dour and dogged Scot of to-day is the offspring of a race formerly jovial and merrymaking. Calvinism has left its impress on the character of the people. If, in point of time, Scotland was among the last of the nations to succumb to the new opinions, the success that attended the movement was more marked here than elsewhere. How did this happen? How came it to pass that a Catholic country allowed itself to be influenced by a minority of innovators? Did Scotland welcome the new creed or was she robbed of her faith?

Long before the public suppression of the ancient faith in 1560 there were forces at work undermining its position. The Catholic tradition may be said to have been lost at Flodden Field, where the flower of the Catholic nobility fell. During the minority of James V. there was a free distribution of benefices, the Church's wealth being bestowed on the sons of noble families without regard to their piety or learning. In this matter of loose administration and lack of discipline Scotland was no exception—no worse than other countries. The revolt was common to all Europe except Ireland. A reaction had set in against the unity and discipline of Europe. Hilaire Belloc says it was "the turning back of that tide of Roman culture which for seven hundred years had dominated" Europe. There was the example of England lately become Protestant, the English gold brought by Sir Ralph Sadler and its skilful distribution, the social and political state of the country, the avarice of the nobles hungering to possess the endowments of the Church, the widespread ignorance of the people in matters pertaining to their faith, the apathy of the clergy and Bishops.

Had the people been instructed in their religion and the clergy true to their vocation, a stouter resistance would have resulted, making the progress of so-called religious innovation difficult, perhaps impossible. But it is only too clear from the evidence of Catholic contemporaries such as John Major and Ninian Winzet, that the lives of many of the clergy were a cause of grave scandal. Quite a number of the people through moral cowardice gave up their faith. Very few of them were of the stuff of martyrs, being

so poorly instructed that they did not know, and therefore did not value the faith. Thus it happened through the unfaithfulness of Churchmen and the ignorance of the laity that religion fell into evil repute, and no power of Church or State could stem the rising tide of error.

It is inconceivable that a people "fortis in fide" can be robbed of its heritage. Had they been strong in the faith no power on earth could have taken it from them. The faith of this small nation which at that time numbered only half a million of inhabitants, had grown cold, and, as events proved, it was neither impossible nor difficult to uproot it from the hearts of the people.

The wealthy nobles took advantage of the revolt against order to carry out their own designs. Little did *they* care for the reformed doctrines as such, their object being, not a change of religion, but money. "Huntlys, Homes, Ogilvies, Dundases, Hamiltons and Douglases all got sops to keep them quiet: benefices were mere bribes—hence contempt for the Church." The harvest is seen today in the ruins of our cathedrals, abbeys and churches. Almost all that was venerable in architecture and valuable in art was ruthlessly destroyed, including precious libraries with their illuminated manuscripts.

Clearly enough the salt had lost its savor and some remedy was imperative. A reformation of morals was the crying need, and if eventually the remedy was prescribed at the Council of Trent it came too late to save the Church of Scotland. "Whatever be under God," says Cardinal Gasquet, "the reasons for the overthrow of the Catholic Church of Scotland, the fact remains that in 1560 it was suppressed by an illegal and corrupt parliament: the old faith of a thousand years was proscribed and the people were commanded by the legal authorities to accept the religious novelties of Calvinistic origin."[1]

Then came the penal laws, which accounted the faith of Columba and Margaret a crime and hounded it from the land. These laws were to be the means of completing by gradual oppression what had been achieved by violence. The final success in uprooting the Catholic faith in Scotland must be traced to the persecution which, as Hallam admits, is the deadly sin of the reformed churches. The new preachers knew their business and took good care to see to the rigid enforcement of the penal laws. It was obvious to them that if they once admitted toleration their work would be speedily undone.

By the middle of the seventeenth century most of those who

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[1] "Scotland in Penal Days," by Cardinal Gasquet, O. S. B.

had been reared in the faith were dead. With the exception of certain parts of Banffshire and the western isles, where Catholic tradition was maintained, the faith of our forefathers was practically extinct. The rising generations were being educated in an anti-Catholic atmosphere as the ministers of the new Gospel had by this time leavened and almost controlled the whole nation. The lamp of faith was extinguished because there was no oil. Through the closing of their churches and schools and the banishment of their Priests, the few scattered Catholics that remained were slowly but surely reduced to a state of spiritual starvation.

To show how this was brought about by the penal laws is the object of the following pages.

The Effect of the Scottish Penal Laws

On the first day of August, 1560, when the Three Estates of Scotland met in Edinburgh, Catholicism was the religion of the land; by the 24th of the same month, Papal authority was condemned, the jurisdiction of Catholic Bishops abolished, the statutes in favor of the old Church repealed and laws passed against the celebration of Mass. The Confession of Faith—drawn up as a summary of the new opinions—was formally sanctioned and received as the established creed. Thus, within the space of three weeks a rude separation with the past was effected. The breach was wider than what took place in 1603, when the King of the Scots crossed the border to live in England, greater even than the memorable event of 1707, when the Scottish Parliament met to be forever dissolved and the royal honors were taken from the Parliament House to the Castle.[2]. This Parliament, which abolished the Catholic faith and established Presbyterianism, was a packed and therefore an illegal Parliament. Crowds of persons not entitled to be there appeared and claimed seats. With reference to the one hundred and six small barons who voted, Hume Brown speaks of them as "an unusual element," and, as being unusual, were forbidden by the treaty. "The Convention," says Lang, "which established the new Creed, was absolutely illegal. It was revolutionary, and revolutions are laws to themselves." [3] The Acts of that Parliament were never sanctioned by Queen Mary.

And so it came to pass that the country, which received its faith from Ninian, which developed under the great Columba, and had felt the saintly influence of Queen Margaret and King David, was now to turn her back on the historic past. Scotland was to be no longer Catholic but Presbyterian, and every means was to be taken to have the change brought about as speedily as possible. Religious

[2] Kinloch's "History of Scotland": Vol. II., p. 4.
[3] "History of Scotland," by Andrew Lang: Vol. II., p. 75.

liberty, so persistently claimed for themselves by the new preachers, was to be denied to the members of the old faith. Penalties of every kind were to be used in inducing Catholics to renounce their heritage.

Our histories tell us very little about the sufferings endured by Scottish Catholics after 1560. Until recently it was not possible to get accurate information on this matter; but now, thanks to the labors of the late Father Forbes Leith, S. J., we have, in his "Memoirs and Narratives of Scottish Catholics," first-hand evidence. With the exception of Andrew Lang there is no modern historian who sufficiently emphasized this aspect of Reformation history. Apart from any prejudice or creed, the extent of the persecution that followed in the wake of the Reformation ought to be made known. The sufferings of Scottish Catholics form an integral part in the Post-Reformation history of Scotland. If we are to describe the change from the old to the new religion we ought also to say at what cost and by what means the change was effected. Lang is very candid when he tells us that "Protestant historians have seldom handled it [*i.e.* the Reformation] with impartiality and their suppressions, glosses and want of historical balance naturally turn into opposition the judgment of a modern reader."[4] False impressions in consequence have remained, impressions which have only sunk deeper through course of time.

When the Assembly rose on August 24 no time was lost in enforcing the statutory laws against Popery. "All abbeys, chapels, monkeries, friaries, nunneries, chantries, cathedral churches, canonries, colleges, other than presently are parish churches or schools, were to be utterly suppressed in all places of the realm."[5] This decree was soon followed by an Act of Convention of Estates for "demolishing all the abbeys of monks and friars and for suppressing whatsoever other monuments of idolatry were remaining in the realm." The wanton destruction of churches that took place is perhaps unparalleled in the history of Christian nations. "They rifled all churches indifferently, making spoil of everything they found. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared, but digged, ript up and sacrilegiously violated."[6] No priest dared openly celebrate Mass without the risk of imprisonment, while secret attendance at the Holy Sacrifice was looked upon as open encouragement of idolatry. A Catholic had but to let a priest come under his roof and he was liable to the confiscation of his goods. With a price put upon their heads the misssionaries had to wander the country

[4] "History of Scotland," by Andrew Lang: Vol. I., p. 421.
[5] "The Book of Discipline."
[6] Spottiswood in Keith's "History of Affairs of Church and State in Scotland: Vol. III., p. 37.

disguised as laborers or soldiers, giving services at dead of night and in some private house. They were compelled to live in caves, in secret and unfrequented places, never lodging two successive nights in the same locality. In their straitened circumstances they might have cried with Jeremias: "Attend and see if there be any sorrow like unto our sorrow." And when they meditated how the faith on which their countrymen had been nurtured for over a thousand years was being uprooted, they perhaps thought of those other words, "The ways of Sion mourn because there are none that come to the solemn feast. Upon the rivers of Babylon there we sat and wept when we remembered Sion." Trampled in the dust, like the Jews of old, they could only sigh and groan for the deliverance of Israel.

The Confession of Faith practically swept away every vestige of Catholic doctrine, while the Book of Discipline served as a weapon for abolishing Catholic ritual, feast days and five out of the seven sacraments. Fines were imposed for a first offense of assisting at Mass, imprisonment for a second and banishment for a third.

"Catholics," says Lang, "must forswear their belief or at least abstain from its rites: must profess to believe what they did not believe."[7] Scottish Catholics had no such option as their brethren in England to attend heretical worship or to pay the statutory fine. "The power of the heretical ministers is so great that they can compel any one to subscribe to their false Confession of Faith, attend their sermons, and take the profane supper of the Calvinistic rite, or else lose all his goods and go into banishment."[8] Priests were outlawed, Catholic laity treated as aliens, their schools suppressed, their churches appropriated, while nothing was left undone to destroy every vestige of the ancient faith. At the beginning of the eighteenth century (1701) seven new persecuting statutes were added to the penal laws, which resemble more the edicts of a Diocletian against the first Christians than laws made in a Christian country. 1. A reward of five hundred marks was promised to any one who should apprehend a priest. No other proof of his being a priest was required than if he refused to abjure his religion. Banishment followed upon conviction with the assurance that if he returned he should be punished with death. 2. Any one becoming a Catholic after the publication of these laws should forfeit all his possessions, which were to belong to the nearest Protestant heir or be confiscated to the Crown. 3. Unless all Catholics on reaching the age of fifteen, subscribed to the formula, they should forfeit all their possessions to the nearest Protestant heir. 4. No per-

[7] "History of Scotland," by Lang: Vol. II., p. 88.
[8] Letters of Father Creighton, S. J., Stonyhurst MSS.

son should employ any Catholic servant under penalty of 500 marks and no Catholic should be capable of any trust or management, or of being a schoolmaster, tutor, or agent. 5. If any Papists were found together in any private house, and if in that private house there should be found vestments, altar-cloths, pictures or articles pertaining to Popish worship, the persons so apprehended should be reputed as sayers or hearers of Mass, and incur the penalties thereof without further proof required. 6. No Papist having heritage should have power to dispose of any part thereof to his children, or to his friends, being Papists: that all such disposal was null and void: that it should be lawful for the next heir apparent or nearest of kin, being Protestant, to brook and possess the same, but if the Papist became Protestant he should be reponed in his estate. 7. That the children of Catholics being minors, should be taken from their parents and put into the hands of Protestants to be educated, and the parents be obliged to pay for their education and maintenance according to their station.[9]

By such laws Catholics were deprived not only of their privileges as citizens but even of the natural rights of mankind. "They were a proscribed and outcast race," says Cunningham, "denied not only the rights of fellow-citizens but the charity extended to the most worthless of our citizens."[10] When the order was given that Catholics were to be ejected from their houses, it happened that women of good family were turned out a few days, some only a few hours, before they gave birth to children. A refinement of cruelty is reached when we read the following sentence taken from the memoirs of Scottish Catholics, Vol. I, p. 48, "The midwives who were called in to attend them asserted that they were desired to kill the infants as soon as they were born, and the mothers as well, or at least so injure them that they should never recover their former health and strength: and all Scotland knows that this was actually done, and there are women of rank whose weak state of health makes it sufficiently evident that this was the case." A writer in the *Edinburgh Review* states that "the complete extirpation of the Catholic Church, not merely as a public establishment, but as a tolerated sect, was the avowed object of our Scotch Reformers. . . . even to massacre the Catholics, man, woman and child."[11]

A powerful weapon in the hands of the ministers was excommunication. Any one coming under its ban was treated like a leper—

[9] "Memoirs of Scottish Catholics During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," Vol. II., pp. 182-3, Forbes Leith, S. J.

[10] "Church History of Scotland," by Cunningham: Vol. II., p. 423.

[11] "Edinburgh Review," Vol. XXVI., p. 167.

as a person apart—with whom no one was allowed to trade. Catholics who died excommunicated were denied a place of sepulture. From the Memoirs of Bishop Geddes we learn that even in his day an order had been obtained from the King and Council commanding all persons to go to the kirks, receive the Sacrament and subscribe to their Confession of Faith under pain of excommunication, loss of all offices and confiscation of goods.

This systematic persecution, which began in 1560, continued till the passing of the Relief Bill in 1793. Where shall we find in history a record of any persecution so long lived? Under Diocletian the sufferings of the early Christians were more terrible but they were in comparison of short duration. The Kulturkampf in Germany, the cruel laws of Pombal in Portugal, the bloody revolution in France—not one of these will compare in length of time with the ruthless system which prevailed in Scotland for two hundred and thirty years. "Perhaps no persecution," says Lang, "was ever so successful. No showy martyrdoms with one exception occur, but there was an unceasing strain on conscience and belief."[12] Indeed, had the blood of martyrs flowed more freely, it would have been, as always, the seed of Christians. It has been said by way of reproach that our Catholic forefathers did not resist unto blood. The objection is more specious than real. "It has been often proved," says Father John Leslie, S. J. (Stonyhurst MSS.), "that the persecution which inflicts most injury on the Church is that which is carried on by flattery, by the inducements of passing and temporal advantages, and by loss of property and exile, without the infliction of death, which is much worse than when it proceeds on its course drunk with the blood of martyrs."[13] The method of frequent imprisonment and confiscation of lands was found to be much more effective than the ruthless destruction of life. Even the one public martyrdom of Father John Oglivie, S. J., was considered a blunder. When King James was told by Huntly that Scotsmen took the death badly, he replied, "It was not my fault. Spottiswood hurried on the execution. I have no desire to see bloody heads round my deathbed"[14]—an allusion to the agonizing fears which beset Queen Elizabeth on her deathbed.

If the great majority of the nobles, barons and commons were still on the side of the old religion in the middle of the sixteenth century, according to the testimony of Hume Brown, how do we explain the final triumph of the Reformation of Scotland? Why was there no reaction such as took place in Germany and other

[12] "History of Scotland," by Lang: Vol. II., p. 495.
[13] "Memoirs of Scottish Catholics": Vol. I., pp. 104-105.
[14] "Narratives of Scottish Catholics," Forbes Leith, S. J.: p. 315.

countries? The avarice of the nobles and the tyranny of the preachers were responsible for crushing the national life and stifling the breath of free inquiry. Owing to the rigor of the penal laws the practice of Catholic life was made impossible. Many subscribed to the new opinions more from necessity than from choice. It is difficult to see how there could have been a welcoming of the new opinions when there was no liberty of conscience. The wells of Catholic knowledge were dried up at their source by the banishment of priests, the closing of Catholic churches and schools. Calvinism and Catholicism were not placed side by side for the choice of the people. The old religion was proscribed and its preachers silenced, while in its place came the Genevan doctrines which the people were compelled to accept under pain of imprisonment. "The effect of this drastic persecution," says Lang, "was that the country was drilled into almost uniform conformity and systematic hypocrisy."[15] When we remember that the only alternative to apostasy was starvation or banishment, we can then understand how the Reformation finally triumphed.

The Scotland we now turn to has a different face from the Scotland of Catholic times. From being a jovial, merrymaking race the Scots became sour and taciturn. The national character shared in the change of religion, Calvinism succeeding only too well in moulding the minds of the people. "The popular pleasures which the ancient faith had patronized, were abolished. From a holiday and feast, Sunday was turned into a lugubrious penance."[16] With the closing of the churches the blessed "mutter of the Mass" was silent, the shrines by the wayside had perished and the Angelus bell no longer called to prayer. "There was no Lady-Day, no Christmas Day, no Lent, no Holy Week, no Easter, in the bleak Knoxian calendar."[17] The stately Gothic or simple Latin crosses that surmounted the graves were now to be replaced by heathen urns or broken pillars, emblematic more of annihilation than forecasting a glorious resurrection to come. Sacred images were to be destroyed because they savored of idolatry and the feast days of saints henceforth ignored, their names being only kept alive through some local tradition or well. The sad separation of death was to be made still sadder by forbidding relatives to pray for their dead, such prayers being accounted superstitious.

There was now no tribunal where souls who had sinned after Baptism could undergo the salutary discipline of Confession, no Holy Eucharist to comfort them in their daily trials, no Extreme

[15] Lang, op. cit., Vol. II., p. 495.
[16] Lang, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 423.
[17] Kinloch's "History of Scotland": Vol. II., p. 12.

Unction to fortify them in their last agony. In this way did the old faith practically disappear because no one dared publicly to uphold it: it ceased to be a vitalizing force for the reason that it was banned while "Scotland owed her all but universal Protestantism to persecution."[18]

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[18] Lang, op. cit.: Vol. II., p. 494.

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VEN. DON BOSCO

III.

THE two Religious Orders, the Salesian Society (now called the Salesian Congregation) and the Daughters of Our Lady Help of Christians, which he founded, secured the continuation of Don Bosco's multiform work. He never forgot those early "dreams" in which its development was adumbrated.

The idea of an organization, which would be a bond of union to hold together his various institutions, not only originated in his own mind but was impressed upon by others. Archbishop Fransoni often said to him: "What steps will you take to continue your work? You are mortal like other men and, if you don't provide for them, your Oratories will die with you; and, therefore, it is well that you should think of some way of securing that they shall survive you. Seek, then, a successor who, in due time, will take your place." Don Cafasso was of the same opinion and said: "For your works a society is indispensable." Don Savio, who was more explicit, said: "You should found a Religious Order." He became more and more convinced himself of working more openly through such a society, inheriting his spirit and apostolate. He had already for years been wont to hold conferences of his clerics and the most zealous of the youths who directly co-operated with him. Of one of these held, in the beginning of 1854, Don Rua records: "On the evening of January 26, 1854, there assembled in Don Bosco's room Don Bosco himself, Rocchietti, Artiglia, Cagliero and Rua, and it was proposed to us, with the help of God and St. Francis de Sales, to give a proof of the practical exercise of charity towards our neighbor by making a promise, and then, if it would be possible and convenient, to make a vow to the Lord. From that evening the name of Salesians was given to those who proposed or should propose such an exercise."[1] The Marquis Crispolti thus relates the simple incident which was the actual birth of the Order. "On March 25, 1855, Don Bosco called one of his clerics, Michael Rua, to his room and asked if he felt disposed to make for the term of a year the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience; in other words, the vows on which Religious Orders depend for their existence and their strength. Don Bosco volunteered no explanation as to the object of the contract which the young man made. The three virtues were important enough to be their own recommendation and

[1] Don G. B. Lemoyne, op. cit., Vol. I., Part III., Chapter XII., pp. 564-565.

besides, the man who proposed the profession of the vows inspired confidence enough for any sacrifice. Moreover the co-operation and constancy of the young cleric were better secured, and these motives were quite adequate for the step taken. There were no witnsses to it; the two knelt down before a crucifix, and then the first seed was cast that was to grow into an immense tree."[2]

This Michael Rua—who, as Don Rua, the second superior-general, not many years ago died, as he had lived, like a saint—was no ordinary man. When Don Bosco, in 1845, used to visit the College of St. Barbara, conducted by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, a little eight-year-old boy there was much attracted by the priest, loving to listen to him. This was Michael Rua, who that year began to frequent the Oratory, joining in the retreat given by Don Bosco at Giaveno in 1850. When he finished his schooling at St. Barbara's, Don Bosco advised him to study Latin and found him a teacher. He made rapid progress and when Don Bosco heard of his successfully passing examination, he said: "I have designs on young Rua; he will be of great assistance to me when the time comes." He received the clerical habit on October 3, 1852, at Becchi, the rector or pastor of which remarked to Don Bosco: "Do you remember when you were a cleric you said: 'I shall have priests and clerics and young students and artisans and a church,' and how I answered that you were mad? Now it seems you knew what you were talking about." On that occasion Don Bosco said, what he afterwards often repeated: "If God had said to me, 'Imagine a boy adorned with all the ability and virtue you would like, ask Me for him, and I will give him to you,' I would not have imagined such a rare combination as that possessed by Michael Rua."

Though he had enrolled its first member, he had not yet definitely decided on the particular form of the contemplated society. It gradually took shape. The Sunday evening conferences had already familiarized his associates with a sort of community life. There were eight clerics among his young assistants upon whom he felt he could count with confidence. Those who filled the chief positions in his Sunday Oratories and in the growing school at Valdocco would form the nucleus of the future Superior Chapter, and there existed regulations and rules directing the work of those who would form a permanent Council. With these as a working basis he constructed the fabric of the Constitutions which should rule the future Congregation. In his judgment it would not undertake practices of the ascetic character associated with other Orders, but would be built principally on the model of the secular clergy.

[2] Marquis Crispolti, op. cit., Chapter XIII., pp. 104-105.

As he himself put it: "It will preserve the substance of the Religious Orders—the outward appearance is not necessary. In fact, I am of opinion that a society in its simplest form would inspire greater confidence and sympathy, and would, in time, attract a great many subjects, through what I may call its up-to-date character." [3]

In this he showed great wisdom, great insight into the present-day needs of the Church, which the various Congregations seem to have been providentially designed to meet. Freer and more flexible in their character than the old Orders—more or less behind the times, originated when different social conditions existed—they harmonized more with the modern spirit and methods of propagandism. While in essentials unchanged and unchangeable, the Church—ever ancient and ever new—marches with the times and is always modern, destined to live through all ages. Change in this connection does not connote any deviation from the *semper eadem,* but is illustrative of the approved doctrine of development. Don Bosco was a modern man in his ideas and methods, a man of his time who reflected in his beneficent work, both religious and social, what was best in the age his lot was cast in. His genius was creative; he was no mere revivalist or copyist.

Still the time did not seem opportune or propitious for the foundation of such a congregation. Ideas then dominant in Italy were strongly opposed to it. The belief that the age of the Religious Orders was a thing of the past beyond resuscitation, prevailed. The Cavour-Rattazzi Ministry, in 1855, got a law passed which suppressed the majority of the Religious Congregations in the Sardinian States. A powerful party in a hostile Parliament would be sure to oppose it. How to prevent the nascent Order from being strangled at its birth was a difficulty which seemed insurmountable. Help came from an unexpected quarter, from no less a personage than Urbano Rattazzi himself, then Minister of the Interior, who, in the course of an interview, opened up a conversation on the subject of Don Bosco's work, to which he was personally well-disposed. "I wish, Signor Don Bosco," he said, "you may live many years for the training of so many poor boys, but you are mortal, like everybody else, and if you should be wanting what will become of your work? Have you yet thought of that eventuality? And if you have, what steps do you intend to take?" Then he went on: "In my opinion, you ought to select some among the laity and ecclesiastics in your confidence and form them into a society under certain rules, imbue them with your spirit, teach them your system, so that they shall be not only assistants but the continuators of your

[3] Crispolti, op. cit., trans. Chapter XIII., pp. 107-108.

work." Don Bosco, having alluded to the suppression of the religious corporations, the Minister replied: "I know all about the law of suppression and its scope. It raises no real difficulty, since you are instituting a society according to the needs of the times and conformable to existing legislation, a society that would not be under a dead hand (mortmain), but a living hand, a society in which every member would retain his civil rights, subject to the laws of the State, pay taxes, etc.; in a word, the new society in the view of the Government, would be nothing else than an association of free citizens, united and living together with a beneficent object." "And your Excellency assures me that the Government permits the institution of such a society and allows it to exist?" "No constitutional and regular Government will hinder the establishment and development of such a society; just as it does not impede but promotes societies of commerce, industry, exchange, mutual benefit and the like. Any associations of free citizens is permissible, provided its scope and acts are not contrary to the laws and institutions of the State. Be easy in your mind; you will have the full support of the Government and of the King, since it concerns a work eminently humanitarian." On several other occasions he conferred with Don Bosco at the Ministry and continued to support the design which he imagined emanated from himself. In 1876 Don Bosco said: "Rattazzi willingly pointed out how various articles of our rules should be formulated so as to be in keeping with the laws. In fact it may be said that certain precautionary measures to keep us from being molested by the civil powers came entirely from him.

But what was pleasing to God and man was not pleasing to the arch enemy of man. One of Don Bosco's most intimate disciples relates: "We noted how he generally suffered from grave diabolical suggestions every time he undertook some important work for the greater glory of God. One morning, having asked Don Bosco if he had rested well during the night, he replied: 'Not much, for I was molested by an ugly monster who threw me on the bed and tried, by oppressing, to suffocate me.' This did not take place only once; Don Bosco said clearly that they were infernal assaults." On the night when he had finished writing the first rules of the Salesian Society, the fruit of many prayers and much labor, while he indited the concluding phrase—*ad majorem Dei Gloriam*—the enemy of man appeared to him, moved the table, overthrew the ink-bottle, stained the manuscript with ink, whirled it wildly in the air and let it fall in scattered leaves with a sound so strange as to cause the greatest terror. It was so stained as to be no longer legible, and Don Bosco had to recommence his work, as he told some of his companions.

It was Don Cafasso who first advised him to knit the Society together by the obligation of vows and the approbation of the supreme authority of the Church, an advice repeated by Archbishop Fransoni, who counselled him to lay his plan before the Pope, to whom he gave him a letter of recommendation. Before doing so he put the following question to several Bishops and theologians: "Could not a society, whose aim is to work for the glory of God and which, in the eyes of the Government, is only a civil society, assume at the same time the nature of a religious institute before God and the Church? Could not its members be free citizens and religious at the same time? It appears to me that they could; just as in every State a Catholic is subject to the King or to the Republic and also subject to the Church, faithful to both, observing the laws of both." The replies were favorable.

Accordingly, accompanied by the young cleric, Michael Rua, as his secretary, he set out for Rome on February 18, 1858, after making his will, as persons were then accustomed to do before going on a long journey; "in order," he said, "not to leave the Oratory stranded in a way, should it please Providence to summon me to eternity, giving me as food to the fishes of the Mediterranean." Many wept, fearing they would not see him again; for he was ailing and was so prostrate when he reached Leghorn that he could not get off and proceeded to Civitavecchia, whence he made his way to Rome. When he entered for the first time the unrivalled basilica of St. Peter's, that "eternal ark of worship undefiled," as the Protestant poet, Byron, calls it, he remained for some time in ecstasy, without uttering a word. The first thing that struck him were the marble statues of the founders of the Religious Orders between the pilasters of the great nave. A time was yet to come when his own would find a place there.

On March 9, he and his young companion were admitted to audience, when both kissed the Holy Father's hand, Rua twice, once for himself and again for the Oratory boys in fulfillment of a promise he had made. The Pontiff motioned to them to arise saying to Don Bosco: "You are a Piedmontese?" "Yes, Holiness, I am a Piedmontese and at this moment experience the greatest consolation of my life in finding myself at the feet of the Vicar of Jesus Christ." "And in what are you engaged?" "Holiness, I am occupied with the education of youth and *Catholic Readings*," "The instruction of youth was useful at all times, but to-day it is more necessary than ever. There is also another in Turin who is looking after youth." The prelate who was on duty in the anteroom had announced the "Abate Bosser," instead of the "Abate Bosco." The Pope was amused at this and continued: "What are you doing

in your Hospice?" "A little of everything, Holy Father: I say Mass, preach, hear confessions, hold school; sometimes I have also to go into the kitchen to teach the cook, or to sweep the church!" The Pope smiled and put various questions about the boys, the clerics, and the Oratories; wished to know the number and names of the priests who helped him and how many collaborated in the *Catholic Readings;* asked Rua if he was a priest and what he was studying; and, turning again to Don Bosco said with a pleased expression: "I remember the offering sent to me at Gaeta and the tender sentiments with which those boys accompanied it." Don Bosco seized the opportunity of expressing the attachment of all those boys for his sacred person and begged him to accept as a sign of it a copy of the *Catholic Readings.* "Holiness," he said, "I offer you a copy of these little books in the name of the editors; the binding is the work of the boys of our house." "How many boys are there?" "Holiness, the boys in the house are about 200; the binders 15." "Good! I wish to send a medal to each of these." And, going into another room, he shortly afterwards returned with fifteen little medals of the Immaculata, another larger one for Rua, and a last one, still larger, for Don Bosco. They had knelt to receive the precious presents, and the Holy Father, thinking that Don Bosco had nothing further to say to him, was about to bring the audience to a close when he humbly observed: "Holiness, I shall have something particular to ask of you." "Very well," replied Pius IX. Rua retired and the Pope continued to converse with Don Bosco about the Oratories and their spirit, praised the publication of the *Catholic Readings,* encouragingly blessed the contributors, and repeated with great complacency: "When I think of those boys I am touched by those thirty lire sent to me at Gaeta! Poor boys, depriving themselves of the money destined for their food and victuals, a great sacrifice for them!" Don Bosco, with the utmost affectionateness, observed: "Our desire was to be able to do more, and we were greatly consoled when we heard that our humble offering was agreeable to your Holiness. Your Holiness knows that there in Turin there is a numerous troop of children who love you tenderly, and every time they happen to speak of the Vicar of Jesus Christ they do so with the liveliest transports of joy," The Holy Father listened with satisfaction to these words, and, resuming the conversation about the Oratories, at a certain point observed: "My dear, you have put many things in motion, but when you come to die, what will become of your work?" Don Bosco replied that he had come to Rome precisely to provide for the future of the Oratories and, presenting Mgr. Fransoni's letter of recommendation, added: "I beg your Holiness to be pleased to

give me the basis of an institution compatible with the times and places in which we live." The Pope, having read the letter which made him aware of the projects and intentions of the founder, exclaimed with great satisfaction: "It seems we are all three of one accord!" and exhorted him to draw up the rules of the pious society according to the design he had in mind, giving him thereon important suggestions. Various other affairs were descanted upon in that audience. Don Bosco asked for other favors which were graciously granted, and Rua, having been readmitted, the Pope blessed them both, saying: "The blessing of God Almighty, Father, Son and Holy Ghost descend upon you, your companions, your clerics, helpers and benefactors, and all your youths and all your works now and forever, and forever, and forever!"

On Sunday, March 21, he was again sent for at the Vatican. The Pontiff, who desired to converse more fully with him, received him in the most benevolent and paternal manner, and as soon as he saw him, said: "I have thought over your project, and I am convinced that it will be of much good to youth. It is necessary to put it in execution. How can your Oratories maintain themselves without it? And how provide for their spiritual needs? Therefore a good institution in these doleful times seems to me necessary. It should be founded on these bases: as a society with vows, because without vows unity of spirit and of work could not be maintained; but these should be *simple* and easily dispensed, so that the bad dispositions of some of the associates should not disturb the peace and union of the others; the rules mild and of easy observance; and the form of the habit and pious practices should not make it appear singular in the view of the world; and to this end it would be better to call it a *Society* instead of a *Congregation*. Finally, make it your study that every member of it be in the sight of the Church a religious and in civil society a free citizen."

When Don Bosco presented the manuscript of the Constitutions to Pius IX. he again expressed his approval of the idea that inspired them. It was in this audience the Pope declared his wish to know the history of the Oratory and, thinking the founder must have had some supernatural lights, told him he should relate everything minutely and enjoined him to commit to writing anything extraordinary that had occurred to him, to leave it as a precious record to his sons. Then the conversation turned on other matters, and, *inter alia*, the Pope put this question to him: "Among the sciences to which you have applied yourself, which pleased you most?" "Holy Father," he replied, "my knowledge does not amount to much; that, however, which would please me and which I desire is *scire Jesum Christum et hunc crucifixum*." At this reply the Pope

remained somewhat thoughtful; and, perhaps wishing to put such a declaration to the test, offered as a token of his esteem and affection to nominate him his Private Chamberlain. The servant of God, who never ambitioned honors, thanked the Pontiff, but added: "Holiness, what a fine figure I would cut in the midst of my boys if I were a Monsignore! My sons would no longer recognize me and give me their full confidence if I were to give myself this title! I would no longer venture to fraternize, now here now there, as I have been doing up to this. And then, on account of this dignity, the world would think me rich and I should no longer have courage to quest for our Oratory and our works. Holy Father, it is better that I should always remain poor Don Bosco."

The Pope, who could not but admire such humility, which is not too common, after encouraging him to write good books for the people, granted him in perpetuity the faculty of hearing confessions *in omni loco Ecclesia* and, that he might have more time to devote to his works for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, dispensed him from the obligation of saying the breviary; and, as if this did not fully express the goodness of his fatherly heart, conceded to him every possible faculty in these words: "I grant you all that I can possibly grant you."

It was Holy Week. As a mark of his particular affection and esteem, the Pope, most amiable and beloved of Pontiffs, had a place assigned to him in the tribune at St. Peter's reserved for diplomatists. Alongside of him was an English nobleman, a Protestant, who was much impressed by the ceremonies. At a certain point, when a soprano from the Sistine Chapel sang a solo so sweetly and penetratingly that Don Bosco was moved to tears, the nobleman, who was enraptured, turned towards him at the close and exclaimed: *"Post hoc paradisus!"* (Shortly afterwards he was converted, became a priest and then a Bishop.) This was on Palm Sunday. After the Pope had blessed the palms, the diplomatists filed before the Pontifical throne, each ambassador and minister receiving his palm, kneeling, from his Holiness, Don Bosco and Michael Rua among the rest, as the Holy Father wished.

At the third audience on April 6 the Pope told him he had read the manuscript of the Constitutions from the first to the last article, and bade him give it to Cardinal Gaude, who would examine it and it would be referred back to him in due course. Don Bosco saw that Pius IX. had added some notes and modifications in his own handwriting. He obtained permission to have the rules sanctioned temporarily, pending their final approval and the concession of several indulgences in favor of his work and those engaged in it. "And now, Holy Father," he added, "have the kindness to give me a

maxim that I may repeat to my boys as a souvenir of the Vicar of Christ." "The presence of God!" replied the Pope. "Tell your boys in my name to always regulate their conduct by this thought! And now have you nothing else to ask of me? You certainly desire something else——" "Holy Father, your Holiness has deigned to grant me what I have asked, and it now only remains for me to thank you with all my heart." "Still—still you wish for something else." Don Bosco remained for some time without uttering a word. Pius IX. resumed: "What? Don't you wish to gladden your boys when you shall return to them?" "Yes, Holiness." "Then wait." A few moments passed, and in presence of Don L. Murialdo, Michael Rua and the Chancellor of the archiepiscopal Curia of Genoa, who were astonished at the familiarity with which the Pope treated Don Bosco, he opened his secretaire, took from it a large sum in gold and without counting it, gave it to Don Bosco, saying: "Take it and give a good feast to your children." Having encouraged him to prosecute his work to make an experiment of putting into practice the Constitutions, he closed the audience by again exhorting him to write down minutely what he had told him of supernatural events as well as those of minor importance, but which were connected with the first idea of the Oratories; repeating that he knew it would be a source of comfort at future times to those who would form part of the new institute. A Cardinal having entered while the Pontiff was speaking, his last words to Don Bosco were: "Remember what I have said to you!"

Leaving Rome on April 14, he reached Valdocco on the 16th of the same month and feasted the boys of the three Oratories on June 24, when there was great rejoicing.

At a conference in Don Bosco's room on December 9, 1859, after they had invoked the light of the Holy Ghost and the assistance of the Blessed Virgin, he announced to them with visible emotion that the hour had come to give form to that society he had long thought of founding; that Pius IX. had encouraged and praised it, that it already existed in the observance of the traditional rules, and to which the majority of those present belonged at least in spirit and some through having made a temporary promise; that the moment had come to declare if they wished to join the pious society which had taken and preserved the name of St. Francis de Sales, and that at the next conference should assemble only those who intended forming part of it. Only two were absent from the next conference on December 18, when Don Bosco, as "initiator and promoter," was elected Chief Superior. Thus was happily laid the foundation of the Salesian Pious Society. On January 7, 1860, Pius IX. addressed to Don Bosco a Brief in response to a letter from

the founder who had been unjustly suspected of intriguing against the State because, *inter alia,* in one of his popular publications he had said that "two conspicuous personages[4] would disappear from the face of the political world." In the course of this Brief the Pontiff, after alluding to the movement to deprive the Apostolic See of its civil principality, expressed the consolation it afforded him to know that he and other ecclesiastics by the diffusion of good books and other writings were doing all in their power to oppose the enemies of the Church. "There is nothing more excellent than this work," wrote His Holiness, "and nothing more useful to promote and stimulate piety. The care you have taken of poor boys received into your Hospice is from day to day more happily successful and increases the number of those who may become useful ministers of the Church. Continue the career you have embraced for the glory of God and the utility of the Church. Endure, if it should happen to you, any grave trial and sustain with greatness of soul the tribulations of the present time. Our hope is in God who, through the protection of the Queen of Heaven, Mary the Immaculate Virgin, will deliver us from such great evils and console her afflicted Church, causing it to triumph over its enemies."

The "grave tribulations" were soon manifest. The suspicions, despite the fact that his works elicited the admiration and gained the favor of many, increased, and they believed, or at least said so, that there was a room in the Oratory at Valdocco full of guns, and the Minister of the Interior, Carlo Luigi Farini, had Don Bosco watched! Four months afterwards the Oratory was subjected to a domiciliary visit on account of an intercepted letter from Archbishop Fransoni, then exiled in Lyons, containing a confidential pastoral to his clergy instructing them how they were to act in the midst of so many conflicts. Knowing nothing of this, three days before the visit, Don Bosco dreamed that he saw a band of rascals enter his room, seize upon his person, rummage among his papers and boxes and turn everything topsy-turvy. One of them looking rather benevolent, said: "Why not put away such or such writing?" Next day he told the dream, treating it as a phantasy; nevertheless, he put several things in order and put away some writings, which might be misinterpreted to his injury. The first visit took place on the vigil of Pentecost, May 26, 1860, when several guards distributed themselves within and an armed guard stood sentinel outside the house. When they demanded to be let into his room, he boldly protested: "I cannot and will not lead you into my room until you let me see who sent you and with what

[4] The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena, whose territories were annexed to Piedmont.

authority and for what reason. Take care you don't come to acts, for in that eventuality I should summon my sons to my aid. I should have the bells rung and consider you as aggressors and violators of other people's dwellings and force you to withdraw. You can, it is true, lead me to prison by violence, but in that case you would commit an action blameworthy in the sight of God and man, and perhaps with bad consequences and to your injury." When it came to the boys' ears that they were going to take Don Bosco to prison a furious agitation pervaded the whole place; while a number of the most courageous and determined drew close to him and whispered: "Let us?" "No," he promptly replied. "I forbid any word, any act that would give offense to anybody. Have no fear; I'll arrange everything and do you go and fulfill your duties."

The decree ordering the visit, being produced, charged him with being "suspected of compromising relations with the Jesuits, Archbishop Fransoni and the Pontifical Court." Having no option but to yield to *force majeure* a thorough search was made which resulted in the visitors finding nothing compromising.

About a fortnight afterwards, on June 10, another visit and another search followed, the authorities having got it into their heads that Don Bosco possessed a large sum of money sent him by the Pope and the deposed Princess ostensibly to provide for the boys, but in reality, it was alleged, to enroll soldiers and wage war against the Government! The boys, numbering 500, were individually cross-questioned, while a shorthand writer took a note of all the answers; but, as on the previous occasion, nothing incriminatory was discovered or elicited. In a subsequent interview with Farini, when that Minister intimated that with one word he could have him imprisoned, Don Bosco replied: "That does not intimidate me. For the truth I fear no one. Your Excellency loves honor and justice too much to commit the infamy of sending to prison an innocent citizen who for twenty years has devoted his life and all his substance for his neighbor." Ultimately through the intervention of Count Cavour the matter was amicably arranged and Don Bosco was allowed to depart in peace to look after his boys; Farini contenting himself with advising him to be prudent. These vexatious incidents gained for him more sympathy; while Rattazzi, then no longer a Minister, but a simple deputy, when he heard from Don Bosco what had taken place, declared those domiciliary visits illegal and offered to bring the subject before Parliament, adding that the Government in disturbing such institutes committed an iniquity that deserved to be denounced before all Europe.

On the day following the second visit the members of the nascent Salesian Society subscribed the Rules of the Congregation of St.

Francis de Sales to be sent to Archbishop Fransoni (deceased March 26, 1862), solemnly promising that if, peradventure, on account of the disturbed state of the times they could not make the vows, in whatever place they found themselves, even if all their companions were dispersed and only two existed, or even one to strive to promote the society and always, as far as possible, observe its rules. On July 23, 1864, the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars issued its Decree of Praise *(Decretum Laudis)* in favor of the society in view of the commendations which in two Briefs the reigning Pontiff bestowed on its good works and the recommendations of the ecclesiastical authorities of Turin,[5] Casale, Mondovi, Susa, Cuneo and Acqui. It constituted Don Bosco Superior General for life.

In the beginning of 1867 he paid a second visit to Rome, where he was received with extraordinary enthusiasm, "as if he was a prince," wrote his travelling companion, Don John Baptist Francesia. "The whole city was astir: and the principal Roman families came to visit him. His fame as a wonder-worker had preceded him and many stricken ones awaited him as an angel of healing. I never expected to see such faith, such confidence in our Don Bosco." Very many commended themselves to him as to a saint, to the Pope's great consolation. In the first audience given him Pius IX. asked: "Have you, Signor Abate, taken my advice? Have you written those things regarding the inspiration to found your Society?" "Holy Father," he replied, "in truth I had not time amid so many occupations." "Well, it being so," said the Pope, "I not only counsel it, but I command it. All other occupations, of whatever kind or importance they be, should give place to this work. Leave everything aside, when it is not possible to act otherwise, but write. You cannot fully comprehend the very great good that certain things will do when made known by your sons." In another audience, wishing to give something for the Oratory boys, he went to his cash box and found it empty. Smiling and raising his eyes to Heaven, he said: "The world does not know that the Pontiff hasn't a penny of his own! I am really reduced to the financial condition of St. Peter." Then, turning to Don Bosco: "Carissimo, see what a little difference there is between me and your orphans; you are living on Providence and I on charity. My children will provide." Pius IX., who had illimitable confidence in Don Bosco, insisted that he should found a house in Rome and accorded extraordinary spiritual favors to the Salesians.

Still he had not yet obtained the definite approval of the Pious

[5] Turin Archdiocese, sede vacante, was then administered by a Vicar-Capitular.

Society. One of the theses they were already studying in Rome preparatory to the Œcumenical Council was whether it was expedient to approve of new religious institutes or fuse those already existing of similar scope. That seeming to raise an almost insurmountable difficulty, he quitted Rome. His departure, like his arrival, was an ovation. The noblest families had vied with each other to be received by him or to receive him in their palaces; from morning till night people of every grade, sex and condition, sought him, to see him, to speak to him; the infirm came to receive his blessing or the touch of his healing hand. Mgr. Manocorda wrote with the tears still in his eyes of his departure, which left the Romans like desolate orphans. "The Roman nobility," he said, "which mingled with the populace and forgot court etiquette to bend the knee to Don Bosco and receive his blessing, would not leave the anteroom of the Father of the ragamuffins *(monelli)* to sit alongside the Grand Vizier. Oh! how powerful is the virtue of Don Bosco!"

He was again in Rome in the beginning of 1869, for the purpose of obtaining the approval of the society by the Holy See, although some Bishops and others tried to dissuade him, telling him it would not be possible. "Everything is against me," he said to himself, "still my heart tells me, if I go to Rome, the Lord who has the hearts of men in his hands, will come to my assistance. Then I go!" He was intimately convinced, too, that Our Lady would help him. He was received in princely fashion, three carriages, two of them Cardinal Berardi's, awaiting him at the station. The Cardinal's nephew, a boy of eleven, had been for fifteen days ill of a malignant typhoid fever that resisted every remedy. His Eminence, having promised to use his influence with the Holy Father in favor of the society, Don Bosco, counselling a novena to Our Lady Help of Christians, blessed the boy, who was immediately cured. The Cardinal went to the Pope and narrated with enthusiasm what had occurred, earnestly recommending the Salesian Society to his Holiness who, wishing to see Don Bosco as soon as possible, sent his carriage for him. All opposition having been overcome, which the founder attributed to prayers to Our Lady, on the 19th of February the approbation of the society was sanctioned and the decree of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars issued on March 1, 1869. On March 5 the founder, full of gratitude to God for this signal favor, was back at the Oratory, where he was received with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, and on the 7th kept for the first time the patronal feast of the new Society of St. Francis de Sales in the sanctuary of Mary Help of Christians. That evening, with edifying simplicity, like an affectionate

father speaking to his children, he narrated to the Salesians of the Oratory the various vicissitudes passed through in obtaining the desired approval. In a circular addressed on the feast of the Assumption of that year, August 15, to the Salesians, he wrote: "We have a great undertaking in hand. Many souls are awaiting salvation through us; among these souls the first ought to be ours, then those of our associates and those of whatever Christian creed it may happen to us to be of any service. God is with us. Let us fit ourselves to correspond to the heavenly favors which have been conceded to us and which we hope may be granted to us in large measure in the future." Further opposition arose in the Roman Congregations before, in 1874, Pius IX. finally and definitely gave his approval to the Constitutions. The society then numbered 320 members and the boys under their care, 7000.

In a subsequent audience Pius IX., in a long colloquy on the Pious Society, told him that at the Vatican Council a Bishop had dwelt on the necessity of a religious society whose members should be bound (*vincolati*) in view of the Church and in that of the world should be free citizens. The Bishop of Parma was rejoiced to be able to say that it already existed and was that of the Salesians, an announcement which the Council received with applause; while the Bishop of Mondori was commissioned to report on it.

Another instance of the confidence reposed by the Pontiff in Don Bosco may here be quoted. When the Piedmontese troops entered and took possession of Rome, on September 20, 1870, various members of the Pontifical Curia advised the Pope to abandon the city and seek some safe refuge elsewhere. Pius IX. hesitated, though necessary preparations for the journey had been made. The prelates insisted. The Pope wished to take counsel with Don Bosco, assuring him that he would follow his advice. Those who were urging him then said: "Let us wait for Don Bosco's reply." The latter, after praying long, sent by hand his response conceived in this sense: "The Sentinel, the Angel of Israel, remains at his post and keeps guard over the Rock of God and the Sacred Ark." The Pope read it, revoked all the arrangements for his departure, and did not stir out of Rome; notwithstanding that for some time contrary opinions reached him. The authority for this statement is Cardinal Giovanni Cagliero, who was well informed of this fact. "What a service has not Don Bosco rendered to the Church and to Italy by this advice!" comments his biographer. Another signal service he rendered to the Church in Italy was, when more than sixty dioceses were vacant in 1871, and he wrote to the Minister Lanza, pointing out that, in accordance with the law of guarantees it was not in the interests of the Government to

oppose the nomination of Bishops and offered his good offices with the Holy See; with the result that the Government desisted from its attempts to suppress several dioceses. At the Pope's request Don Bosco drew up the list of Bishops, of which His Holiness approved. More than forty sees were provided for in the Consistory of October 27, 1871, and in his allocution the Holy Father repeated substantially what Don Bosco had said to his brethren: "Did Jesus Christ ask permission of anyone when He sent the Apostles to preach? He only said to them this word *'Go!'* And they went."

The foundation of the second Order was foreshadowed by the Association of Devout Clients of Mary Help of Christians, canonically erected by Archbishop Riccardi, enriched with many indulgences by Pius IX. and then elevated to the rank of an Archconfraternity, to which Leo XIII. granted faculties of aggregating associates in all parts of the world. About ten years previously a priest, Don Domenico Pestarino, of Mornese, had asked for admission to the Salesian Society—but Don Bosco, while accepting him, wished him to remain in his own part of the country where, since December 8, 1855, he had founded a Union or Association of Daughters of Mary Immaculate, a kind of tertiary sisterhood who, while remaining in their homes, strove to attain Christian perfection by practicing the Gospel counsels. This Pious Union—approved March 20, 1857, by Mgr. Contratto, Bishop of Acqui—had already spread into other provinces of Italy. Don Pestarino remained in Mornese and in co-operation with Don Bosco, in 1864, laid the foundations of a college for youths. But that was not to be its work; it was to be the cradle of a new Institute which, along with the Salesian Society, was to be devoted to the salvation of souls. Addressing his Council in 1871, he said: "Many persons in authority have repeatedly exhorted me to do something also for young girls, some little good as by the grace of God we are doing for boys. If I were to yield to my own inclinations I would not undertake this kind of apostolate, but as I have been so often urged by persons worthy of every esteem, I would fear opposing a design of Providence if I did not take the matter into serious consideration. I propose it to you now, inviting you to reflect upon it in the presence of God, to weigh the pros and cons, to be able to come to some decision that will be for the greater glory of God and the greater advantage of souls. Therefore, during this month, let our prayers in common and in private be directed to this end—to obtain from the Lord the necessary lights in this important affair." At the close of the month he re-assembled them and asked them, one by, one, their opinions, beginning with Don Rua; all were unanimous in deeming it opportune that Don Bosco should make provision

for the Christian education of young females, as he had done for boys. "Well," he concluded, "we may now hold it for certain to be the will of God that we should interest ourselves also in girls; and to come to something concrete. I propose that the house Don Pestarino lately opened in Mornese be destined to this work."

That very month, being in Rome, he submitted his new project to the Pope, who listened attentively and promised to give him his opinion at the next audience. When he next found himself in the Pontifical presence Pius IX. said to him: "I have thought over your design of founding an institute of female religious, and it seems to me for the greater glory of God and advantage of souls. I am of opinion, then, that it should have for its principal work to do for the instruction and education of girls what the members of the Society of St. Francis de Sales are doing for boys. As to its dependence, its dependence should be on you and your successors, just as the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul depend on the Lazarists.[6] In this sense draw up your Constitutions and begin the trial. What remains will be seen to afterwards."

On January 29, 1872, Don Pestarino assembled his little community of twenty-seven, who had for two years been leading the common life, and laid before them Don Bosco's project. They recited the *Veni Creator Spiritus* before a crucifix placed on a little table between two lighted candles, and then proceeded to the election of a superioress. At the first scrutiny Maria Mazzarello had an absolute majority—21 of the 27—and was declared elected. In her humility she begged to be dispensed, saying that while she thanked them all she did not believe herself capable of filling such an office. They insisted while she protested, unless constrained by obedience; ultimately the choice of the first superioress was left to Don Bosco. Meanwhile, Sister Maria Mazzarello only assumed the direction as Vicar until June 14, 1874, when, with the unanimous approval of the Sisterhood and of Don Bosco, she was formally elected Superioress-General. To the new nuns he gave the name of Daughters of Mary Help of Christians, because as he said a little later in moving language, he wished the institute to be a monument of lively gratitude to the Mother of God Incarnate for great and multiplied favors obtained. The ceremony of the clothing or investiture with the modest habit selected by the founder had previously taken place on August 5, 1872, feast of Our Lady of the Snow, when Mgr. Sciandra officiated and received their first tri-annual vows. After

[6] Called by foreigners Lazarists because the mother-house was in the Rue St. Lazaire, Paris; known in English-speaking countries as Vincentians.

being scarcely five years in existence the sisterhood numbered 200, and they had twelve houses in Italy and France, sent the first religious to America, and opened a hospice for poor, abandoned girls at Villa Colon, near Montevideo. They are now everywhere the Salesian Fathers have established missions. The fervor aroused by the first expedition in the houses of the Pius Society was diffused among the Daughters of Mary Help of Christians, especially in the mother house of Mornese. The humble and holy Superioress-General wrote to Don Cagliero that many wished to go to America, and repeated, "It is true that we are good-for-nothings, but, with the help of the Lord and with good will, I hope we shall succeed in doing something. Get me then summoned there soon. Oh! if the Lord should give us this grace! If we did nothing else but gain one soul for Him we should be sufficiently paid for all our sacrifice." This zealous nun died in 1881 at Nizza Monferrato. When visiting the French houses in the winter to revive among her daughters the spirit of piety and love of religious perfection, she contracted a fatal malady that ended her life at the age of forty-four. Endowed with special gifts for the direction of souls, she brought about in a short time such a development of the institute as surprised the founder himself. In the space of nine years the nuns numbered more than a hundred and were pursuing their good work in Piedmont, Liguria, Lombardy, Venetia, France and America. They are now established at Pallaskenny, near Limerick, in Ireland, where the Salesians have founded an agricultural college under the direction of Father Aloysius Sutherland, for several years rector of their school at Farnboro, Hants, England. The ordinary process for the cause of the beatification of Sister Maria Mazzarello has been completed in the Episcopal Curia of Acqui and the Acts sent to the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Sister Catherine Daghero, already Vicar, was elected the second Superioress-General.

An important link between the two Orders was forged when Don Bosco founded the semi-lay organization, known as the Salesion Coöperators. We say *semi-lay,* because, though mainly composed of the laity, it also includes ecclesiastics. It was obviously suggested by and, to some extent, modelled upon the Third Orders instituted by St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic in the thirteenth century; but, in harmony with the freedom of action and modern spirit that permeates the Salesian Congregation, not so ascetical or aiming so high. Every reader of history knows what a profound and wide-reaching influence, both religious and social, the tertiary movement created by the founders of the Friars Minor and Friars Preachers exercised in every grade of society in mediæval Europe.

The Salesian Coöperators have opportunely arisen in modern Europe in these days to fulfill a similar mission; when the forces of good need to be marshalled to combat the forces of evil; when Christian civilization is being sapped and undermined by a species of neo-paganism, the old Christian ideals being discarded; and when the social question in its various phases is so interwoven with problems affecting faith and morals, and causing such universal unrest.

Two things Don Bosco deemed most urgent were the multiplication of sacerdotal vocations and the banding together of the faithful for the carrying out of a plan of united action to meet the needs of the times. Having unfolded his views to the Holy Father and gained the support of several Bishops, he established the work of Mary Help of Christians for the vocations of adults to the ecclesiastical state and the Pious Union of Coöperators. In 1874, the latter was called the Christian Union; in 1875 the Association of Good Works; then Salesian Association; and finally, in 1876, Salesian Coöperators. He had long pondered on this development of his work. The fundamental design was not that of only helping the Salesians, but coöperating with the Church, with Bishops and the parochial clergy according to the spirit of the Salesian Society in beneficent works, in imparting catechetical instruction, in the education of poor boys and the like. "To help the Salesians," he said, "is only to help one of the many works existing in the Catholic Church. True, the Salesians will appeal to the Coöperators in their difficulties, but the Coöperators ought to be as well arms in the hands of Bishops and pastors for the good of the universal Church and more especially of the respective dioceses." In this sense he declared: "A time will come when the name of Salesian Coöperator will mean a true Christian."

On March 4, 1876, he petitioned the Pope to open the treasury of the Church by granting indulgences to those who were enrolled in the work of Mary Help of Christians or as Salesian Cooperators. The original programme not having specifically mentioned "coöperatrixes," Pius IX. said: "And why not aggregate to this work also coöperatrixes? No, No! Make no exclusion: put in also coöperatrixes. Women have always had the principal part in good works, in the Church itself, in the conversion of peoples. They are, too, by natural inclination, generous and enterprising in supporting good works, more than men. Excluding them, you would deprive yourself of the greatest of helps." Needless to add that the Pontiff's choice was taken, greatly to the benefit of the organization, which increased and multiplied not only in Italy, but in France, Austria, Poland and various other European States, as well as in

many distant parts of the world, especially in America; so that at the founder's death there were about 80,000 Salesian Coöperators. A monthly publication, the *Salesian Bulletin,* printed at the headquarters of the Order in Turin, in Italian, French, Spanish, German, Polish, Portuguese, Hungarian (Magyar) Slovenian and English keeps the members *au courant* of all that is being done all over the world by Salesians for their mutual information and edification.[7] It has a circulation of 350,000.

Pius IX. not only had his name placed first on the roll of Cooperators, but exhorted many Cardinals and Bishops to join their ranks. "The Salesian Coöperators," he said, "are destined to achieve much for the good of the Church and of society. The very object of their work directed to the education and the amelioration of the conditions of the young, will make that work more and more esteemed as time goes on; therefore, I seem to see not only individuals but whole cities enrolled among the members. That is why I think so highly of them and have favored them so much." This great Pontiff, whose powerful patronage and protection was the mainstay of Don Bosco's work all through its struggles, its difficulties and its triumphs, in one of his last audiences, when he received him in his bedroom—as poorly furnished as that of some poor member of a Mendicant Order[8]—said to him these remarkable words: "Go, write to your sons and begin to say now, and always repeat that there is no doubt that it is the hand of God that guides your Congregation. Therefore there rests upon you a great responsibility, and you should correspond to such a grace. But I say to you, in the name of God, that if you correspond to the Divine assistance, if you promote the spirit of morality, and especially that of chastity, if this spirit remains in you, you will have coadjutors, coöperators, zealous ministers; you will see religious vocations multiplied a hundredfold, either through you or your Congregation, as well as in other religious orders, and also in the diocese that good clergy will not be wanting who will do much good. I believe I am unveiling to you a mystery. I am certain that this Congregation has been raised up in these times by Divine Providence to show forth the power of God; I am certain that God has willed to keep hidden until now an important secret, hidden for many cen-

[7] The conditions of membership are: To be not less than sixteen years of age; to be of good character as Catholics and citizens; to be in a position to promote the works of the Salesian Congregation either personally or through the medium of others by prayers, offerings or alms. Those desirous of joining should send their names and addresses to the Superior of any Salesian House or directly to the Rector, 32 Via Cottolengo, Turin, Italy.

[8] Don Bosco wrote to Don Berto: "The Holy Father is in bed, and his bed is as low and poor as that of our boys; he has no place on the ground to put his bare feet; the pavement all consists of bricks so worn and scraped that one has to be careful not to stumble."

turies and from many other past Congregations. Your Congregation is new in the Church, because of a new kind, because it has arisen in these times in a way that it may be a religious and secular Order, that it may keep the vow of poverty and at the same time hold possessions, that participating of the world and the cloister its members may be religious and seculars, cloistered men and free citizens. The Lord manifests that in our days, and this I wish to disclose to you. The Congregation was instituted in order that in the world, according to the expression of the Holy Gospel *in maligno positus est,* it should give glory to God. It was instituted because it sees there is a way of giving to God that which is God's, to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, according to what Jesus Christ said in His time, 'Render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's and to God that which is God's.' And I foretell to you, and you write it to your sons, that the Congregation will flourish, will miraculously extend, will last to future ages and will always find coadjutors and coöperators, to the end and so far as it will strive to promote the spirit of piety and religion, but especially of morality and chastity."

His successor in the Pontificate, the great Statesman-Pontiff, Leo XIII., now one of the historic figures in the retrospect of the Papacy, the Pope of the *Rerum novarum* encyclical, the charter of the working classes, fully shared the views of his predecessor regarding the Salesians and social action. His first interview with him was when he was Cardinal Camerlengo, and he asked permission to kiss his hand. "Who are you who approach with such authority?" asked His Eminence. "I am a poor priest," replied Don Bosco, "who now kisses your Eminence's hand, praying, with a firm hope that in a few days I may kiss your sacred feet." "Take care what you are doing; I forbid you to pray for what you say." "You cannot prohibit me from asking from God what pleases Him." "If you pray in this sense, I threaten you with censures." "Up to this you have not authority to inflict censures; when you have I shall know how to respect it." "But who are you who speak to me so authoritatively?" "I am Don Bosco." *"Per carita,* be silent about this. It is a time for working, not jesting."

As he predicted, on the 20th of February, 1878, about fourteen days after the death of Pius IX., Cardinal Gioachino Pecci, Archbishop of Perugia, was elected Pope, assuming the name of Leo XIII. With the frankness and boldness characteristic of saintly and privileged souls Don Bosco prefaced his first audience by addressing to the new Pope a letter on the most pressing needs of the Church in the same strain as, he observed, he sometimes communicated things to Pius IX., which he judged came from the Lord. When he

begged His Holiness to allow his name to be inscribed among the Coöperators, as Pius and many Cardinals had done, and that it was an association promoted by his immediate predecessor, the Pope hastened to say: "That is enough, in that sense I am not only a Coöperator but an operator, both as Pontiff and as one of the faithful. Undoubtedly I will promote all institutions that have as their aim the good of society, above all those that take care of erring youths. I am persuaded that there is no ministry more noble than that of striving to diminish the number of the disorderly by making them honest citizens and good Christians."

As he was about to retire, he asked the Pope for a word of advice to communicate to those under his charge. "Tell all who belong to your Congregation," replied the Pontiff, "never to be unmindful of the great benefit God has done them in calling them to it, wherein they can do great good to themselves and to their neighbor. The foundation of this institute, the pupils that are receiving a Christian education in the various houses, the industrial schools, the churches opened for worship, the missions that have already produced satisfactory fruit, and all this done without material possessions, certainly show that it has the blessing of the Lord. I believe that those who repudiate miracles, if they would explain how a poor priest could give food to 20,000 boys with all the other accessories, I believe they would be compelled to say: *Digitus Dei est hic.* Let the Salesians, however, be grateful for this mercy of the Lord, but show their gratitude by the exact observance of the rules. Let the youth whom Divine Providence has confided to you courageously combat that formidable enemy of souls, human respect; let them be instructed in the faith, taught to know the authority of the Holy See and of the Roman Pontiff, that it is the centre of truth. Let them learn in time to know and love Holy Mother Church, the Infallible Teacher, the anchor of salvation, to which it is necessary that all live united in order to be saved. The Coöperators have before them a vast field in which to labor and do good. They are living in the world, but are acquiring the merits of those who live in community. There is no work more meritorious in the eyes of God than to coöperate in the salvation of souls. The mission of the Salesian Coöperators, however, is to sanctify their families by good example, by the fulfillment of their religious duties, their solicitude to help the Salesians in their undertakings in matters that it is not convenient should be done by a religious. Remind them of the Gospel dictum that earthly possessions are thorns and that it is for the possessors to make good use of them, so that at the moment of death they may become odoriferous flowers with which the angels may weave a heavenly crown. Remind the

novices that they are precious plants enclosed in a garden. Alas! if the hedge is broken down, robbers will enter, steal the few fruits they see, spoil the plants, ruin everything. Then to the novices, the hopes of the Salesian Congregation, is to be recommended retirement and the cultivation of those virtues they should practice all their lives."

Having been told that there were then twelve houses and churches, that sixty missioners had been sent out from Europe, that one of them had died at his post, and that, counting priests and novices there were in all about a hundred, the Pope observed: "The missioner, who goes to give his life for the Faith, has a right to a special reward. I consider missioners as so many envoys of the Church, sent to carry civilization and religion to distant countries. They are charged to preserve the faith in regions where it is already preached and to propagate it among savages. The fatigues of their journeyings, the sufferings and deprivations which they must certainly undergo in diverse climates among unknown, ignorant and often dangerous men; the privations in food, rest and in other ways, are all things that render the missioner well-deserving of religion and civil society. Tell them that I thank them for the service they are rendering to the Church, that I love and esteem them, pray God that He preserve them in His grace, that He save them from moral dangers and make their labors fruitful. I bless them from my heart. But do not fail to impress upon them to keep a strict watch over themselves! The teachings they give to young people are well; but the light of works, of an exemplary life ought to be like a light that enlightens the minds and hearts of all who admire their works or listen to their discourses. When you select those who are to go on the mission, prefer always those who have been already well exercised in virtue. These things are the foundation of Catholic missions."

Both Pontiffs, as well as distinguished ecclesiastical and lay personages, had the highest esteem and veneration for Don Bosco. Pius IX. called him "the treasure of Italy," and Leo did not hesitate to emphatically declare him on several occasions to be "the Saint, the Man of Providence." The King and Queen of Italy and other royalties loved to converse with him and help him in his works. Victor Emmanuel[9] recognized his sanctity; even the very enemies of the Church proclaimed him, "the saint, the wonder-worker of Valdocco."

[9] Speaking of him in the presence of several persons in Genoa, the King said: "Indeed, Monsignor Don Bosco is truly a saint." They never met. The King's adjutant, General d'Angrogna, rode up to the Oratory one morning with another rider. Don Bosco was out. It was not known until afterwards that the second rider was the King.

Leo XIII. would not let him kneel in his presence and seated him by his side in one of his long private audiences. Don Bosco's health failing, the Pope said to him: "It is absolutely necessary you should recover your health and not neglect the necessary means of sustaining and recuperating your strength. Be careful of yourself, without too much scrupulosity. Spare yourself more before you get worn out. Make the others work. It is necessary you should live longer, because your life does not belong to yourself, but belongs to the Church, belongs to the Congregation you have founded and which has much need of you to obtain those fruits that Divine Providence demands of it. You, Don Bosco, are necessary. Your work has increased and extended. Italy, France, Spain, America, the very savages of Patagonia, claim your existence. You have sons who will follow in your spirit, but they will be always in the second line after you. That you cannot engage in much work at present is not a great matter. Your life, your existence, your counsel are all necessary things, and that I and your friends desire earnestly, because you cannot complete the works you have begun. If I were ill, I am certain you would do as much as you could for the preservation of my life. Now I wish you would do for yourself what you would do for me. Henceforth take every care of it, seek all the necessary means for your preservation. I will it! Do you understand? I command it; it is the Holy Father who wishes it and the Pope who commands it; the Church needs your life!" The kindly old Pope—they were both then aged—who granted him every favor and privilege he asked, said affectionately: "I love you, I love you, I love you! I am all for the Salesians. I am the first among Cooperators! Whoever is your enemy is the enemy of God! I would fear to go against you! You in fact with means so small are doing a colossal work. You, not even you, know the extent of your mission, and the good it is to do the whole Church! Your mission is to make the world see that one can be a good Catholic and at the same time a good and honest citizen; that one can do great good to the poor and abandoned youth at all times without clashing with political novelties, but remaining nevertheless a good Catholic. The Pope, the Church, the whole world are thinking of you, of your Congregation and admire you. The world either loves you or fears you. It is not you but God who works in your Congregation. Its wonderful increase, the good it is doing, are not to be ascribed to human causes. God Himself guides, sustains, carries on your Congregation. Tell it, write it, preach it! This is the secret of your being able to overcome every obstacle and every enemy."

When he heard there were 208 novices he said it was marvellous; and, reverting to the Coöperators he repeated: "I myself intend

to be called not only Coöperator, but operator, because Popes ought not to stand apart from these beneficient works. If we wish to promote social well-being, there is no other means than to give a good education to those poor boys who at present wander through our streets. They will shortly form the masses, and if they be well taught we shall have a well ordered and good society; if ill, society will be in a bad state, and sons in their manhood will have to lament the bad education given them by their fathers, if they should not everlastingly curse their memory."

When Don Lemoyne, who had been appointed secretary to Don Bosco, was presented, the Pope in a solemn manner impressed upon him the duty of taking special care of the founder's health, saying: "You ought to be his support and you are responsible for the life of your superior. And I wish it, the Holy Father wills it; it is the Pope who wills it. Surround him with every care, be his consolation. What an honor is yours! And for you, Salesians, the mission that God gives you is a great honor, and a great obligation to which you should correspond; tell all your brethren that they are the consolation of this poor old man!"

Speaking of the missions, when he was told that the missioners had already baptized about 15,000 savages, Leo XIII. exclaimed: "Fifteen thousand savages! It is a great number, and I am grateful for so many souls. It is a magnificent thing to save souls, and the Pope cannot but rejoice at it."

Don Bosco made his last journey to Rome in 1887. It was also the last year of his life; he knew he was nearing his end. Wholeheartedly devoted to the Church, to the Papacy, to the Supreme Pontificate, his thoughts, his faith, his affections drew him Romewards, as the thoughts of the Israelites under the Old Dispensation turned towards Jerusalem when they "lifted up their hands to the holy places." Pope and priest met each other for the last time on this earth. Leo XIII. greeted him, smiling, and when Mgr. Della Volpe, at his instance, brought a chair for Don Bosco—for he would not let him kneel—and it was placed at a certain distance, the Pope drew it nearer to himself, and, seizing his hand, pressed it warmly. "Oh, dear Don Bosco," he asked, "how are you? . . . how are you?" and, without giving him time to answer, rose quickly. "Don Bosco," he pursued, "perhaps you are cold, is it not so?" And he went to his bed and removed from it the coverlet. "See," he continued, "this beautiful ermine coverlet which was presented to me to-day for my sacerdotal jubilee, I wish you to be the first to use it." And wrapping it round Don Bosco's knees, he again took him by the hand and earnestly entered into conversation. Don Bosco was much moved by this condescension. "I am an old man, Holy

Father," he said. "I am seventy-two; and it is my last journey, and the end of all things for me. Before dying, I wished to again see your Holiness' countenance and to receive your blessing. I have been heard, and nothing now remains for me but to chant, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace!*" "I am six years older than you," the Pope observed, "and count upon living longer; if you don't hear that Leo XIII. is dead, make your mind easy." Having in view the future of the Salesian Congregation, His Holiness desired him to impress upon its members specially obedience and the conservation of Don Bosco's maxims and traditions; telling the founder and his Vicar not to be so solicitous about the number of the Salesians as of the holiness of those they already had. "It is not the number that increases the glory of God," said the Pope, "it is virtue and the holiness of the members. Wherefore be very cautious and rigorous in accepting new members of the institute; take care above all that they are of proved morality."

As he was leaving the Vatican a group of the Swiss guards stood at attention and gave him the military salute. "But I am not in the least a king," he said, smiling, "I am a poor priest, quite bent, and of no account." When on May 16 he was celebrating the Holy Sacrifice at the altar of Mary Help of Christians in the new Church of the Sacred Heart, consecrated on the 13th by the Cardinal Vicar, more than fifteen times he burst into tears and strove to finish the Mass. Don Viglietti, who assisted him, had, from time to time, to distract him from this strong emotion. After Mass, the congregation, touched by his piety and suffering aspect, gathered around him, kissing his vestments and hands: and when they asked his blessing, he blessed them with a weak and trembling voice, and then, again giving way to tears, covered his face with both his hands and was led away. Asked why he was moved at the altar he said: "I had so vividly before my eyes the scene when between nine and ten years old I dreamt of the Pious Society, and saw and heard so well my mother and my brothers asking me about the dream, that I could not go on with the Holy Sacrifice."

It was the fulfillment of that first "dream" and the reflections it inspired that moved him to tears and recalled memories of the past. "In time you shall understand everything," the Blessed Virgin had said to him; and the humble shepherd of Bacchi, after sixty-two years, now clearly perceived how the mission which had been intimated to him in his childhood by our Lord and His Blessed Mother had had, in the erection of the Church of the Sacred Heart in the centre of Christendom at the instance of the Vicar of Christ,

its solemn seal and sanction. His personal work was ended; his departure for eternity was, therefore, imminent.

While they were celebrating the feast of Mary Help of Christians, a dying infant was brought to him; he blessed it, urging the parents to put their trust in Our Lady. Before they left the church they turned back, their features beaming with gladness, and made him an offering for the favor received. The enthusiasm of the people was such that he had to wait for an hour before he could leave, he was so besieged by thousands of persons who wanted to kiss his hand, speak a word to him, or get his blessing. A little boy, who had entered the church with crutches, was speedily seen to leave it carrying them in his hand, and a paralytic was completely cured. It was the last feast of Mary Help of Christians at which Don Bosco assisted.

At that time, early in June, the Blessed Virgin appeared to him again in a "dream" to reprove him for not having published a booklet teaching the wealthy how they ought to make use of wealth. Don Bosco's doctrine on this point was considered too rigorous, and he prudently had kept silence. Now he was ordered to admonish the rich against the bad use of wealth. He communicated this to his brethren and Don Francesia was charged with putting it into execution, whereupon was issued a booklet with the title: "Heaven Opened to the Rich Through the Medium of Alms."

For a long time Don Bosco knew the time of his death and that he would be buried at Valsalice. On October 20 he went to Foglizzo Canavese, where he invested with the clerical habit ninety-four aspirants to membership in the Pious Society. It was the last journey he made out of Turin. On his return he said to Don Rua: "In another year it will be your turn to perform this function, for I will be here no longer."

He gradually became weaker. For two months he had to lean on the arms of his brethren in order to move a step. Speaking to Don Berto of the Oratory boys, he said: "As long as there remains in me a thread of life, I will devote it all to their good and their spiritual and temporal advantage." It was plain to those who were present at his Mass that the end was near. He celebrated with great difficulty and in a very low voice in the little chapel near his room, being often interrupted by deep emotion. He said Mass for the last time on the 4th of December, 1887. The next day he heard one and received Communion, bursting into tears at the words *"Ecce Agnus Dei."* His thoughts reverting to the Coöperators, he dictated for their guidance some maxims. It was to them he addressed the beautiful letter known as his Last Testament, in which he said: "I feel that the end of my life is drawing near, but before

I depart from you forever, there is a debt I must pay you, and so satisfy a deep craving of my heart. It is a debt of immense gratitude for all that you have done in assisting me in the works I have undertaken on behalf of the young, so that they may be brought up as good Christians, useful to themselves and to society, and so that they may gain their eternal destiny. Without your charity little or nothing could have been accomplished; but with it and the grace of God, we have been able to wipe away many a tear and save many a soul; it has enabled us to gather into homes and schools thousands of the young who would have otherwise been desolate, and to provide for their future. With the help of your charity we have established missions in the farthest confines of the earth, in Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, and sent out hundreds of evangelical laborers to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord. Through your generosity again our printing-presses have sent out millions of copies of good books[10] in defense of the truth, to promote piety, and to support good morals. Through your charity we have built many churches and chapels in which from generation to generation there will be sung the praises of God and of His Blessed Mother, and by means of which great numbers of souls will be saved."

As Mgr. Cagliero was returning from America he was saved, as it were by a miracle, from death in a fall at the foot of the Cordilleras, when he heard an interior voice saying: "Go to Turin to assist at the last moments of Don Bosco." Some distinguished people from Chile who visited him, said: "We are praying hard to the Lord that he may free you from your ailments and preserve you still longer." "I wish to go soon to Heaven, where I can do better for our Pious Society and my sons and protect them," he replied. "Here I can do nothing more for them." To the cleric Festa he said: "Nothing remains for me now but to make a good end;" repeating the words with emphasis. The gravity of his state having become more accentuated, he said to Mgr. Cagliero on the 23d of December: "Have you kept well before your mind the reason

[10] He was himself a voluminous writer. In 1851 he began a universal "History of the Church," under the form of biographies of the Popes, regarding them as the very mainsprings of its life and action and the targets for the attacks of hostile writers. He worked at it for ten years, but his absorbing occupations prevented the issue of more than three volumes, comprising the Popes of the first three centuries. He also wrote a "History of Italy" for the use of schools; published an expurgated edition of the chief Latin classics, being strongly averse to literary education being based too much on ancient writers whose maxims and opinions were purely pagan, and began the publication of "Latin Christian Classics," in promotion of that reform in education and teaching without which, he held, we could never have the young student purely and entirely Catholic. The Minister of Education awarded a prize of a thousand francs to his "History of Italy." The "Catholic Readings" he commenced in 1853 are still continued. "The Catholic in the Midst of the World," issued in 1882, was a reprint from the "Readings."

why the Holy Father ought to protect our missions? You should tell the Holy Father what until now was kept as a secret: the Pious Society and the Salesians have as their special object to sustain the authority of the Holy See, wherever they find themselves, wherever they are laboring. You shall go, protected by the Pope, into Africa; traverse it . . . go to Asia, Tartary . . . and elsewhere. Have faith." To Cardinal Alimonda he said: "I have always done all that I could. May the holy will of God be done in me!" "Few could say that at the point of death," observed the Cardinal. "Difficult times, Eminence, I have passed through difficult times," said Don Bosco. "What humiliations and repulses he had to bear for ten years!" comments his biographer. "We have seen him weep when it appeared that once more hopes he cherished were to vanish, and it was then we heard him exclaim: 'If I had known at first that it would cost so many griefs, fatigues, oppositions and contradictions to found a religious society, perhaps I would not have had the courage to set about the work!'"[11] "But, Don Giovanni," said Cardinal Alimonda, "you ought not to fear death, you have so often recommended others to be prepared." "I have said it to others," he humbly answered, "now I have need that others should say it to me." On Christmas Eve he received the Viaticum with great devotion. Handing his purse to Don Viglietti, he said: "I don't think there is anything in it, but in case there should be any money, give it to Don Rua. I wish to die in a way that it can be said: Don Bosco died without a penny in his pocket!"

Extended on the cross of suffering, he forgot his pains to think only of saving his own and others' souls. To Mgr. Cagliero he said: "I only ask one thing of the Lord, that I may save my poor soul! Recommend all the Salesians to work with zeal and ardor. Work, work! Always exert yourself indefatigably to save souls!" It was his constant exhortation during these closing hours of a life spent in the service of God and the pepole. "Save souls, save souls!" he repeated, "it now devolves on you; I can no longer do anything. Oh, how many souls Mary Help of Christians will save by means of the Salesians!"

His death was a public event. All eyes were turned towards the room where the dying priest lay, waiting for the "one clear call." The daily papers published every medical bulletin; crowds besieged the Oratory asking eagerly for information; telegrams were continually received from the correspondents of Italian and foreign papers and from the superiors of Salesian houses; public and private prayers, triduums and novenas were offered up in Italy, France, Spain and other countries and in many monasteries, convents and

[11] Lemoyne, op. cit., Vol. II., p. 602.

religious communities for his recovery; while the brethren and boys in the Oratory succeeded one another, day and night, praying for the same intention before the Blessed Sacrament, lights being kept continually burning before the altar of Mary Help of Christians. In many families of Coöperators they wept or offered their lives for his restoration to health, twelve Oratory boys having done the same. All hope was not given up. Don Alfera said to him: "It is the third time, Don Bosco, that you have approached the threshold of eternity, and then came back through the prayers of your sons. I am certain this will happen again this time." The servant of God answered: "This time I shall not return."

All Rome—the Pope, Cardinals, Archbishops, nobles, everybody—was anxious about the revered invalid in Turin. There was an amelioration when, after being twenty-one days in bed, almost partaking of no nourishment, and with a mind weakened by debility, he suddenly felt a return of strength as if he was capable of getting up, writing and working. "I feel myself at this moment in health as if I was never ill," he said. To one who asked him how he was, he answered: *"Quod Deus imperio, tu, prece, Virgo, potes.* Certainly my time is not yet come; it may be shortly, not now." This was attributed to the prayers to Our Lady Help of Christians, which went up from all parts of the world, and was regarded as a signal favor, because it enabled him to regulate various affairs and lay down rules for the management of the Oratory and other things. The physicians were astounded at his activity and mental lucidity. This lasted until the 20th of January, 1888, when he relapsed into his previous condition, and sometimes utterance failed him. Don Sala, to raise his spirits, said to him: "Don Bosco will now find contentment in the thought of having, at the price of many strivings and labors, succeeded in founding and establishing the Salesian Society and extending his institutes everywhere." "Yes," he replied, "what I have done I have done with the help of the Lord . . . and if I could do more . . . but my sons will do it," and then, after regaining a little more breath, he added: "Our Pious Society is guided by God and protected by Mary Help of Christians."

On the 28th of January, after receiving Communion, he said in an undertone: "And presently the end!" and to Don Bonetti: "Tell the boys I await them all in Paradise!" On the morning of the 30th Mgr. Cagliero (now Cardinal) said the Litany for the agonizing, many Salesians being present. The doctors having said that at night or at dawn on the next day he would die, all the brethren, over a hundred, at their request, were permitted to enter and kiss his hand, one by one—the hand so often raised to bless them; then those living in the neighboring colleges, the students, and the

big working boys. All the night he lay motionless on his little bed, breathing with difficulty. Between one and two in the morning he entered into his agony, when Don Rua said the prayers for the dying. In a moment the room was filled with kneeling priests, clerics, and laity. At three a dispatch was received from Rome carrying the Apostolic blessing. While the bell of Maria Ausiliatrice sounded the *Ave Maria,* and Don Bonetti was whispering ejaculations into the ear of the dying priest, the rattles ceased. . . . the breathing for some instants became tranquil . . . and then stopped. Don Bosco was dead!

He was nearly mid-way in his seventy-third year. After Mgr. Cagliero had intoned the *Subvenite sancti Dei* and the *De profundis* was recited with sobbing voices, Don Rua, turning towards his brethren, said in a voice broken with emotion: "We are doubly orphans. But let us console ourselves. If we have lost a father on earth, we have gained a protector in Heaven. And let us show ourselves worthy of him, following his holy example." That morning—it was January 31, 1888—various persons were favored with apparitions of his soul and succored in their sufferings. At Grado, an ecstatica saw his soul going into Heaven, escorted with much rejoicing, as she had seen no other soul since the day, ten years before that she had seen the soul of Pius IX., similarly greeted on his entrance into Paradise. Another nun, a member of a family very devoted to Don Bosco, was in a painful state, which deprived her of rest and prevented her from doing good. Having heard he was dying, she said to herself: "My mother will go and find him and recommend me to his prayers." That morning, while the whole community were in the church, after a restless night she slept and shortly after heard some one say: "Oh! Sister Philomena, what is the matter?" "It was Don Bosco standing upright at the foot of my bed," she wrote. "He carried his customary short cloak on his arm, held his cap in his right hand, and was as young, cheerful and vivacious as exactly I had many times seen him in our house in the years of my childhood. 'Oh, Don Bosco,' I said, 'has my mother spoken to you about me? I am so disgusted and feel so weak, not being able to do any good.' 'I know your mother was to come, but could not,' replied Don Bosco. 'See, when I was in this world, I could only do but little good for her and for her family; but now that I am in Paradise, I can do much more, and I wish to do now what I could not then, because I had so much to do for my boys.'" At these words the nun begged him to intercede with God for her cure; and Don Bosco replied: "Rise now, God is with you." And she arose, went into the church to thank the Lord; and on that

very day she was notified of the precious death of the servant of God.

Was it not Lacordaire who said that there are deaths that exhale the perfume of immortality? Such was Don Bosco's. After the first obsequies in the Church of St. Frances de Sales, when a hundred thousand persons thronged the piazza and the adjacent streets and two hundred priests and forty canons and Bishops joined in the funeral procession, eight Salesian priests carrying the coffined remains on their shoulders, people exclaimed, "What a beautiful feast!" It was really more a feast than a funeral; the sentiment of joy extinguishing that of grief, the sense of triumph repressing tears; for it marked the triumphal ending of a life distinguished by memorable achievements. Eloquent tongues spoke his panegyric. When he was borne to his last resting place at Valsalice, where they have erected as a mausoleum a cruciform chapel under the invocation *"O Crux, ave, spes unica."* Mgr. Cagliero, the first Salesian Bishop and Cardinal, said: "Just as the first Christians were encouraged to fight for the Faith to suffer and to die for Jesus Christ and were fortified at the tombs of the martyrs, as St. Philip Neri learned to become the Apostle of Rome by often visiting the Catacombs, so you, so we, so all shall come often to acquire at this tomb that fortitude which in his hardest trials sustained Don Bosco in laboring for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, and to rekindle within us that fire of charity which always inflamed his breast and made him the apostle not only of Turin, of Piedmont and of Italy, but of the most distant regions of the earth." Cardinal Alimonda, having referred to the obituary in the London *Times,* which called him "the Vincent de Paul of our times," said both St. Francis de Sales, whom he had taken as his model and whose name he gave to his society, and St. Vincent de Paul were reflected in him, and he likened these three heroes in the spiritual contest of divine love to the three children cast into the fire, who with one voice praised, glorified and blessed the Lord in the furnace. Mgr. Manacorda, speaking at the function in the Church of the Sacred Heart in Rome, said in all his life and in all his acts he showed the incontestable characteristics of an extraordinary mission, according to the designs of Divine Providence. The most illustrious ecclesiastical dignitaries were unanimous in speaking of him as a soul divinely privileged, a signal benefactor of humanity, a splendid glory for religion, an emulator of St. Vincent de Paul, Girolamo Emiliani, Joseph Calsanctius, and John Baptist de La Salle. Mgr. Giacome Català y Albosa, Bishop of Barcelona, who proclaimed him the glory of humanity, of the priesthood, of the Church and of all the religious orders, concluded an eloquent tribute

with the words: "To-day we have honored the memory of a great man; to-morrow we will raise a church to a great saint." The Bishop of Pampeluna went so far as to say that it was not lawful to doubt the complete felicity of Don Bosco in Heaven. Leo XIII., in the first audience given to Don Rua, said: "You are the successor of Don Bosco. I condole with you on the loss you have sustained, but I rejoice because Don Bosco was a saint, and will not fail to assist you from Heaven." Told that in his last illness he had recommended his brethren always to uphold the authority of the Pope and promote respect and obedience to the Church and its Visible Head, the Pontiff observed: "By that it is seen that your Don Bosco was a saint, like in that respect to St. Francis of Assisi who, when he came to die, warmly recommended his religious to be always sons devoted to the Roman Church and its Head." Speaking to the Cardinal-Vicar he repeated: "Don Bosco is a saint;" and then added: "I regret being old, not to be able to coöperate in his beatification." To Mgr. Cagliero he said: "You have certainly had a great loss, losing your Father and Founder; but he lives in Heaven and will be able to help you better, because his works are the works of a saint, his virtues were the virtues of a saint, and his intercession with God will, therefore, be equal to that of the saints."

The many marvellous favors obtained through his prayers during his life were multiplied after his death. He soon became the object of a cultus that extended all over the world. The Ordinary Process on his sanctity, life, virtues and miracles was begun in the Archiepiscopal Curia of Turin on June 4, 1890, and ended on April 1, 1897, after 562 deliberations. The Acts were remitted on April 11 to the Congregation of Rites which, after examining them —Cardinal Vives y Tuto being the Relator—declared, in the sitting of July 23, 1907, that the Cause of Beatification might be introduced. The decision being referred to Pius X. on the day following, His Holiness ratified the decree of the Sacred Congregation and signed with his own hand "the Commission for the introduction of the Cause of the Venerable Servant of God, Giovanni Bosco, Priest, Founder of the Salesian Pious Society." The day is anxiously awaited when the heroicity of his virtues and the approbation of the miracles wrought through his intercession being declared the Vicar of Christ will raise Don Bosco to the honors of the Church's altars.

At the close of the Apostolic Process on the virtues and miracles *in specie,* on October 13, 1917, was made the canonical recognition of the remains, when the body was found in course of gradual mummification. "Whoever was fortunate to see him alive and to see him then," says Don Lemoyne, "perfectly entire and with the

lineaments unaltered, would think he was again in his presence. Only the black color, the open mouth and the hollow sockets without those eyes that had often smiled on so many boys, said clearly they were the frail remains abandoned by the great soul of the best-loved Father. What memories were awakened in seeing again, still perfectly preserved, those priestly hands that were so often raised in blessing, that innumerable troops of boys and adults had covered with kisses, that had labored so much for the glory of God and the salvation of souls."[12]

Don Bosco has found in Don Lemoyne a worthy biographer. He has given us a full and faithful record of the life and works of one of the most remarkable men that the Catholic Church—*magna virum parens*—has produced in modern times. He was preëminently the man of Providence of the nineteenth century. A man of his time, fully abreast of the age, he was the initiator of a new departure in the spheres of labor assigned to the religious orders and congregations. An educationist *hors ligne,* he developed a system of the teaching and training of youth which, judged by its very successful results, was a masterpiece. His many-sided life is suggestive of practical reflections on many points, which must set any intelligent reader thinking. These and other features are brought out prominently in Don Lemoyne's two valuable volumes which comprise 1,471 pages of closely-printed matter, copiously illustrated. Only the chief events of his well-filled life are here touched upon; the reader who would wish to know more of it must be referred to his biography, which could not have been entrusted to more capable hands or better done. It is a thoroughly satisfactory book; a perfect portrayal of the man and of the times in which he played so important a part.

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[12] Biog., Vol. II., Chapter XV., p. 711.

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EARLY CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CHINA

II

IN THE January, 1921, issue of the QUARTERLY, I endeavored to give a brief account of the earliest Christian missions in China. I dwelt more especially on the labors of the first Jesuit and Lazarist missionaries. In this paper I propose, as far as the material in my possession will admit, to call attention to the work of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and the fathers of the Missions Étrangères.

The field is so vast that it seems almost impossible to give an idea of the marvelous undertakings of the Christian pioneers in a territory that includes China proper, with its dependencies, Manchuria, Mongolia, Tibet and Sinkiang, and embraces an area larger than the entire continent of Europe, with a population of about 400,000,000, or about one-fourth of that of the entire globe.

The Franciscans were early in the missionary field, for we find that in the thirteenth century Pope Innocent IV. appealed to the head of that Order for volunteers for the Chinese mission. In response to this appeal, Father Giovanni de Plan Caprini and Father Stefano, of Bohemia, left Lyons in 1245. Father Caprini, after years of exhaustive labor, became Archbishop of Antivari.

In 1290 we find another valiant Italian Franciscan, Father Giovanni di Monte Corvino, engaged in evangelizing the Chinese. During the reign of Kou-Bi-Lâi, Pope Nicholas IV., on learning of the favorable disposition of several Tartar princes and of the Emperor himself toward the Christian religion, sent the Franciscan, Father Monte Corvino, as a legate to Tartary, with pontifical letters recommending him to the authorities. This distinguished missionary was a native of Monte Corvino (near Naples), from which town he took his name.

Father Giovanni was well received by the Emperor, to whom he presented his credentials and a letter from the Pope exhorting the Emperor to embrace Christianity, but the missionary tells us that the Emperor was "too deeply imbued in his idolatry" to hear the Pope's exhortation. Nevertheless, he permitted the missionary to settle at Pekin and to exercise his ministry in that city.

We have, in a former article, referred to the solicitude felt by Pope Clement V. regarding these missions, and how he provided for them. Suffice it to add that from this time on, and during the fourteenth century, until the fall of the Tartar-Mongolian dynasty of the Yuens, the relations between the Pope and the Emperor were

such as to inspire the hope that China was in a fair way to become Christian. Father di Monte Corvino died in 1330.

At the time of the death of this distinguished missionary, Christianity in Cathay (China) may be said to have been in a most prosperous condition. There was, besides the Archbishop of Kai-Bi-Liak, a Bishop at Gih-Ba-Liak, in Western Mongolia, the land of the "priest Jean," another Za Toun, in Fo-Kien. The number of Catholics at Kan-Ba-Liek (Pekin) was estimated at about 30,000, with two Franciscan churches and monasteries, one of which was in close proximity to the Emperor's palace.

The two successors of the zealous Monte Corvino were Franciscans, Father Nicholas, in 1833, and Guglielmo de Prato, in 1370. They became Archbishops, with jurisdiction over all the missions of Cathay.

The famous invasion of Timur, the Tartar (Tamerlane), rendered all intercourse between Europe and the Far East impossible, so, it came to pass, that this region passed out of men's minds, so that in the fifteenth century, the savants of Europe began to doubt the very existence of the celebrated land of Cathay (Northern China), so lauded by Marco Polo and the missionaries of his day.

The fact is that so many persecutions of Christians had broken out, so many of the Christian Chinese had apostatized and many of them only dared to practice their religion under cover, and thus escape persecution at the hands of their enemies.[1]

The poor province of Chan-Si, where the Franciscans had taken refuge from persecution, was sorely tried, as it lay in the way traveled by hostile and persecuting soldiers, but the zealous Italian Franciscans, in spite of all this, succeeded in making converts beyond the Great Wall, and by gentleness and perseverance succeeded in preaching the Gospel to the pagans in the vicinity.

The sons of St. Francis have done wonderful work in all parts of the world as self-sacrificing missionaries. Their labors in China, though marked with the blood of martyrs in many cases, are to be seen to-day, in the number of churches, monasteries, and growing missions. The purpose of this paper is to deal with beginnings only. We leave the triumphs of later centuries to be described by later and more competent historians.

The Dominican Fathers entered China at a very early period. It is said that Marco Polo had two of these Fathers with him when he visited the Celestial Empire in 1275, but there is no record of their having attempted to establish any missions at this time, probably because conditions did not warrant it.

We know that Father Gaspar de la Cruz, as the Spanish his-

[1] Trigault: "De Sacra Expeditione," anno 1615.

torians call him, after preaching in Cambodia, went to China and preached the Christian Gospel with great success. As St. Boniface had done centuries before when evangelizing Germany, Father de la Cruz overturned the Chinese idols in one of their temples to prove to them that their gods were impotent. The infuriated Mandarins had long entertained the idea of putting him to death, but for some reason or other, concluded to banish him from the empire. Father de la Cruz managed to reach Ormuz, in Persia, where he resumed his missionary labors with great success and where he made a large number of converts. Worn out by his arduous labors and continuous persecution, he returned to Lisbon, where he died while engaged in numerous works of charity. He was a native of Evora, in Portugal. King Sebastian, who appreciated the worth of the good misssionary, had recommended him to the Holy See for the Bishopric of Macao, but God had reserved him for a higher destiny.

Father de la Cruz was followed by Father Juan de Castro, Prior of Santa Rosario, in Filipinas, and Father Miguel de Benavides, who spent a short time in China, preaching the Gospel and ministering to their people as best they could. Father Benavides had a good knowledge of the Chinese language, and was thus able on his arrival in China to begin his apostolic labors, in spite of the threatening persecution. The good father was, nevertheless, obliged to undergo a painful imprisonment at Hay-Tcheng. When brought before their judges they were accused of being spies of the King of Spain. They succeeded in convincing the Mandarins that their only object was the salvation of souls and the preaching of the Gospel. They were finally compelled to return to Manila.

Father Bartolomeo Lopez, with two confrères, reached China in 1587, and established a convent of their Order at Macao for the use of their missions. After an interval of some years (1631), the Dominicans were represented in China by Father Angelo Coqui, in the Province of Fo-Kien. When the persecution of 1664 broke out, the Dominicans had churches in five towns, three boroughs, and other villages in the provinces of Tonkin, Tche-Kiang and Kouang-Tung.

When the Christians were deprived of the European missionaries, in 1628, during a terrible persecution, they were consoled by visits by Father Gregorio Lou (Spanish Lopez), a native Dominican priest, who later on became the first native Chinese Bishop. The zeal displayed by this devoted convert, caused him to be selected by Pope Innocent XI., a few years later (1679), as the successor

of Monsignor Cotolendi, as Vicar Apostolic of Nankin with the title of Bishop of Basilea. He died in 1687.

Father Juan Bautista Morales, O. P., arrived in China in 1638. After a careful investigation of affairs in that country, he went to Rome and reported the result of his investigation to Pope Urban VIII., who sustained him in the stand he had taken on the questions then agitating the Christian missions in China.

Father Albert Sciffoni, O. P., arrived at Su-Tchuen in 1745, a time of persecution, and in a letter to Father Verthamon, a priest of the Missions Étrangères, he expressed the deepest anxiety as to what might happen, and he prudently sought refuge, for a time, at least, away from Hia-Sea-Hiang. The governor of that district came, in person, directly to the church and examined the Christians on their religion. We find that Father Sciffoni was obliged to change his residence nine times during that month, and had to climb mountains and dwell in caves until he was reduced to extreme exhaustion. Later on, in a letter dated March, 1748, he told Father Minolta that the Emperor had decided to spare his life and that of his fellow-prisoners for another year. In December, 1748, there were thirty-four prisoners condemned to death and he and the others were notified to prepare for death. His name, however, was not on the fatal list for this occasion.

By means of a bribe he was enabled to see the document containing the charges against him and his Christian flock, and learned that they were accused of "advocating the burning of the Tartars." Father Albert and his companions in misery were much consoled by the ministrations of Father Paul Sou, a native priest, who took a great interest in them and who volunteered to go to Pekin and lay their case before Joseph Té, whom he had converted to Christianity, and who was now an influential official under the hereditary prince. But Father Albert assured him that his journey would be useless. They were left to their fate.

Father Serano, another zealous Dominican missionary, tells us that the Superintendent of the Province of Tonkin, in making a visitation of the territory under his jurisdiction, passed through a part of Emouy, where a vessel from Manila was moored. The captain offered him valuable presents and besought him to give him four prisoners who were in his possession and the coffin containing the remains of the saintly Bishop Sanz, whose martyrdom we described in a former article. The captain was anxious to take these remains to Manila, that they might be buried in a tomb worthy of a martyred Bishop. The Zum-Tou neither refused nor acceded to the request, promising to consider the matter, and he refused to accept the presents. Hardly had he reached the capital when he

ordered the remains of the Bishop to be consumed by fire, an operation which required several hours. The ashes were scattered over what, in our country, would be called a "Potter's Field." A few fragments of the bones were afterwards recovered and disposed of with reverent hands. The Mandarins were evidently ashamed of what they had done and excused themselves by saying that they were obliged to carry out the orders of their superiors.

Monsignor Tomasso de Sertri, O.P., was another zealous worker in the Chinese missionary field. He was a Genoese by birth, and was sent out by Pope Innocent XII. Because of the troubled condition of the times, he was obliged to labor in China secretly. Finding it impossible to receive episcopal consecration in the Philippines, he was obliged to wait for over two months in Luzon before he could receive consecration in China at the hands of the Lazarist Bishop Mullener, after which he set out, at once, for Canton. Father Appian, C. M., and his confrères advised the Bishop to depart in less than twenty-four hours, so as to avoid being sent by the Mandarins to Macao, a city that had become dangerous for the Christian missionary on account of its double-dealing with the Holy See, and with the missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant.

He was advised to proceed to Tonkin, and was supplied with a guide regarded as trustworthy, and reached his destination in safety. Some writers think he was betrayed. I have been unable to find further details of his labors.

Father Francisco Fernandez de Capillas, a Spanish Dominican, went to China in 1642. From the "Missions Dominicaines dans l'Extréme Orient," I learn that this zealous son of St. Dominic was in the habit of going from village to village, poorly dressed, with no baggage save his breviary, and no staff save the cross. A large number of infidels converted, of apostates reconciled to the Church, of virgins consecrated to the service of God; all this testified that the good Lord blessed his work. He pursued his saving way, until the Mandarins, ever ready to listen to the voice of calumny, arrested him in the town of Fon-gan, in 1647.

When asked who had harbored him in his travels his answer was characteristic: "My only home in the world; my only roof is God's firmament; the bare ground is my only bed; my only food is what Providence gives me from day to day, and my only aim is to labor and suffer for the cause of Christ and the salvation of souls." He was beaten with rods, burdened with chains, dragged from one tribunal to another, and subjected to all manner of torture. When the judges urged him to apostatize, offering him honors and riches, his only answer was: "Keep your honors, and riches and

pleasures; my only ambition is to die for the faith I have come to China to preach."

The good Father was again cast into prison, and finally he suffered martyrdom at Fon-gan, on January 15, 1648, in the presence of a multitude of lookers-on, many of whom were edified by his holy death.

As we come down through the centuries to modern times we find the missions of the Dominican Fathers growing rapidly. We find also records of persecutions, torture and martyrdom, but we also find the crown earned by those who persevered unto the end, for, after the terrible persecution of 1750, the Dominicans could count their converts by the twenty thousands.

We are far from recording the magnificent sacrifices made by these missionaries in the early days of the evangelization of China. We have only mentioned a few; our object, in this article, is rather to call attention to the solicitude of the Church for the salvation of souls in that far-off region so long closed against European civilization.

The first historical record we have of Augustinian missionaries in China seems to begin with Father Alvaro de Benavesite. We learn also from Fernando's "History of the Dominican Fathers in the Philippines" that the history of the Augustinians in this part of the Asiatic empire appears to be even older than that of the Asiatic Archipelago. He tells us that "with the death of General Villaloboso, the people of his expedition scattered in all directions. The Augustinian Fathers Jeronimo de San Esteban, Sebastian de Transerra, Nicolas de Perea and Alvaro Alvarado, intended going from Puerto Navidad to the Chinese empire to preach the Gospel, but the Portuguese Government would not allow them to do so because they were not of their nation, and these fathers were obliged to return to Europe.[2]

From a manuscript kindly furnished by the Augustinian Fathers at Villanova, Pa., I learn that "the Augustinian Fathers, both Spanish and Portuguese, entered the Asiatic field in the sixteenth century. . . . Evangelists of that Order from Spain, under the renowned Undameta, first of the two branches of the brotherhood to go to the Far Eastern shores of the Archipelago, landed in the Philippines in 1565; in China in 1560; in Japan in 1590, while Portuguese Fathers, not far in the rear, reached India in 1572; Ceylon in 1575; Cochin in 1578; Persia in 1602 and Arabia in 1624. . . . So much for a summary glance at the field which was destined to yield so many triumphs of grace to the Christian spirits of the Friars of St. Augustine."

[2] Fernando: "Historia de los Padres Dominicos en Filipinas."

In 1568 the first colony of the Fathers destined for Chinese shores left Manila under the leadership of Father Diego de Herrera, a venturesome evangelist who had seen many years of service in the Philippines. In company with Herrera were two other stout-hearted upholders of the faith: Fathers Martin de Rada and Augustin de Albuquerque, who somewhat later on was commissioned as Ambassador to the Chinese Emperor at Pekin. In a subsequent voyage from Manila to the Flowery Kingdom, Father Herrera, with forty of the Fathers, was wrecked in the China Sea, where several of his fellow-missionaries perished. In those days pirates, too, were apt to enliven the monotony of sea travel, as they have done in years much nearer our own.

Many of the Augustinian Fathers, besides preaching and catechizing, devoted no little time to preparing grammars, vocabularies, dictionaries and devotional works for the use of their Chinese flocks, as did the Fathers of other Orders. We shall call attention to them further on.

We have spoken of Father Rada as one of the most zealous and self-sacrificing of the Augustinian pioneer missionaries in China. In June, 1573, in company with Father Martin, he left Manila for the Asiatic continent on an ambassadorial mission. The great missionary tells us that he and his companion were subjected to all manner of annoyances on the voyage by the Chinese captains of the fleet that convoyed the vessel he was on. Every effort was made to induce him to abandon his purpose. He and his confrère were "held up," as we would say, in our day; robbed of all that could be extorted from them, and finally put ashore on a sandy beach and subjected to the most cruel tortures by the Chinese captains and their crews. They were stripped of their clothing and beaten with rods. In this operator, when some of their torturers were exhausted, their places were supplied by others. When satisfied with what they had done they left the missionaries unconscious and covered with gaping wounds. So sure were the tormentors that the missionaries would die that they did not wait to dispatch them, and left them to be disposed of by the cannibals, the Zambales, who were expected in that vicinity. The missionaries finally recovered consciousness, but suffered terribly, not only from the effects of their wounds, but from hunger and thirst, and the intolerable weather. But "blessed be God," says Father Rada, "who tames the lion when it seemeth good to Him to do so, the hopes of our persecutors were not realized. The Zambales did not come." The sufferers for the faith were finally rescued by a Spanish officer and conducted to a place of safety, where they received all necessary attention.

These two Fathers are regarded as the first Augustinian victims sacrificed for the faith by the infidel hordes that infested, and continued to infest, that region for many years. Father Rada labored for many years in the Chinese mission with eminent success, and his labors were fully appreciated by his superiors.

No sketch of Chinese missions of that age could well be deemed complete without mention, however brief, were made of Fathers Benavente, Bonjour and Segui; all three men of very marked abilities in the world of letters as well as in religion. Father Alvaro de Benavente, especially because of his learning and virtues, was raised to the episcopate. He was born at Salamanca, in 1642, and made his religious profession in the Augustinian convent of his native city in 1663, and was sent to Manila in 1668, before he had completed his studies. The special qualities he developed soon gained for him the position of Definidor and Secretary of his Province, so that in conjunction with the Prior of Guadalupe, Father Juan de Rivera, he might go to China to found missions long contemplated by his Order. There, in the Province of Kiam-Si, Rivera began his missionary labors in the city of Kao-king-fu, where, aided by Father Luca Stefana, he founded the Church of El Santo Nombre de Jesus. Father Rivera died in Manila in 1709. He was a man of great zeal and his biographer tells us that "he was more in need of a curb than of a stimulus."

In 1690, Father Benavente with four companions, aspirants for suffering, settled at Kuam-Fung, having previously lodged with the hospitable Franciscans, with whom they learned the Chinese language. Benavente himself founded three churches in 1696.

We might take occasion to mention here that towards the close of the sixteenth century the Augustinian Fathers founded their historic convent at Macao, recognized by the Chinese missionaries as their base in China. It became necessary to guarantee in some manner the permanence of the Fathers on the Asiatic continent, and this new foundation served them as a haven of refuge, where they might enjoy a period of relative quiet, in case of the breaking out of some sudden persecution, which was not infrequent in those days.

Father Benavente's companion, Father Juan de Rivera, was also a product of the convent at Salamanca, a man of remarkable virtues, much given to meditation and devotion to the salvation of souls. He longed for service on the Japanese mission, but not being able to gratify this desire it was suggested to him to start a mission at Tonkin, which he acceded to, and in doing so encountered unexpected difficulties. His guide, Tadeo Hico, recently baptized, pretending to act as guide and friend, promised to guide

the good Father to his destination; instead of which he conducted them to a small stream in a boat. "Father San José and I," says Father Rivera, "were delayed here for a long time, unnecessarily, by the captain who was to take us in his vessel, and, before we became aware of his intention, he stood up in the boat and with the oar he held in his hand gave me a stunning blow, and I fell over the side into the water in an unconscious condition. God permitted me to regain my senses, and I besought His protection, and I asked Father Alfonso de San José to give me absolution. I did the same for him. Tadeo now fell upon me and gave me another blow with a big stick. I sank under the water for the second time, and as I rose out of it, he dealt me another blow. I implored the aid of Heaven and with what strength I had left managed to reach a high embankment, near which I was able to conceal myself. My persecutors thinking me dead paid no further attention to me. In the meantime, Tadeo and his confederates fell upon my confrère and clubbed him to death. I was covered with blows, and removing my Chinese dress, I dragged myself through mud and water; I managed to climb a tree, where I remained all night. There was a village not far away, and again, through mud and water, I made my way to it. There I was rescued by a *siam,* who tended to my wounded head, supplied me with suitable clothing, and took me to the house of some idolatrous priests, where I remained that day and the next very much depressed in spirits." The good Father goes on to tell how the Chinese sought him that they might take his life and how the idolatrous priests defended him. One of the men of a Dutch factory constituted himself as the protector of Father Rivera and supplied all his needs. One malefactor was arrested and punished. Bishop Lambert took charge of Father Rivera, who was attacked with a fever that incapacitated him for some time. He died in Manila in 1709.

Father Bonjour, christened Guillaume, of Toulouse, France, whose well-merited renown was based largely upon his scientific attainments, was a many-sided genius and scholar as well as mathematician and churchman. His name is in repute to-day among the civilizers of China. He was imperial surveyor-general of the empire, professor of mathematics at Pekin, wherein he was a co-worker with the Jesuit, Father Fridel. He was also bearer of the red hat to Touvenon, who at that time resided at Macao.

In 1710, Father Pedrini, C. M., tells us that the Emperor engaged Father Bonjour, in conjunction with some Jesuit Fathers, to make geographical charts of several towns the Emperor desired to have. On another occasion Father Bonjour, with Fathers Pedrini and Ripa, were sent by the Pope to the Emperor, not as envoys, as

some authorities claim, but as men whose scientific attainments would be of use to the government, and thus secure the good will of the authorities, so as to enable them to do the work uppermost in their minds, with the least molestation possible. Good Father Bonjour died of a fever at Pekin in 1710. His remains were entombed in the city by order of the Emperor. In a letter he sent to Father Nuzzi, General of his Order, he signs at Guillaume Bonjour-Fabri.

Father José Segui, a great linguist, and last of our trio, was sent to the Chinese mission in 1795. He served with great zeal and success for a period of twenty-three years, and was the last of the Augustinians who had been toiling in this portion of the Lord's vineyard for over two hundred years.

The progress of the Augustinian missions in China was very consoling. Father Antonio Mozo writes that after the arrival of Fathers Tomas Ortiz and Francisco Fontanilla these Fathers "began with great fervor to cultivate that vineyard and increase it with new conversions, that in the short period of twelve years they had the consolation of baptizing over 7,000 souls, and were able to increase the number of churches, in their district, to twenty-three, with every prospect of future success."

Father Agustin Molinao was another valiant as well as "ingenious" Augustinian missionary. He was dismayed by no dangers, and Father Mozo tells us that he resorted to all manner of devices that he might reach and convert the heathen Chinese. "Sometimes he would play the fool (bobo), doing all manner of ridiculous pranks; at others he would take his violin and go singing through the streets and in this manner concealing his real designs." But with all this, he succeeded in gaining a hearing, and Father Mozo tells us that he "baptized one hundred and ninety-two pagans, reclaimed some eighty apostates, gave the Sacraments to a number of Christians and confirmed the vascillating in their faith." Yet the trials he underwent are almost incredible.

The Augustinian Fathers, like the Jesuits, Dominicans, Lazarists and other Orders have their list of confessors and martyrs. The Venerable Tomas Torres was scourged and persecuted for the faith, and finally banished from the empire. He died in the Philippines in 1768.

The Venerable Father Juan Rodriguez was in charge of three cities, six villages, two hospitals for lepers and about fifty stations, with a flock of about 1,000 people, all of whom were strict observers of the approved rites. They had doctrinal and liturgical books *ab omni errore expurgatus,* written in Chinese characters. Father Rodriguez labored among his people amid all manner of annoyances and persecutions, but in spite of all, he gained souls for heaven,

and in this he found a reward for all his sufferings. To follow the labors and trials of the devoted Augustinian missionaries would be an endless task and would take us far beyond the limits of our present purpose.

We might sum up the total of Missions, or Prefectures, with their Vicars or Prefects Apostolic, as fifty-nine, and among these there are but nine whose pagan population exceeds that of Hu-nan. Nor is there more than eleven that can claim a larger number of European missionaries, in spite of the fact that in some of them the number of the former is more gratifying.

Vicariates such as Young-Pin has 13,267 Catholics; Tien-Toin, 38,180; Wei-houi, 13,337; Han-tahou, 14,625; Amoy, 10,783, and other provinces in the same proportion. Father Bernardo Martinez, O. S. A., from whose excellent "Historie de las Misiones Agustinas" I have taken these figures, adds: "In 1910 no less than fifty Vicariates and Prefectures Apostolic, the total of permanent missions of the various religious Orders and Congregations, the total number of priests was no less than 2,260, and after so many sacrifices and 'bloody sweats,' the number of Catholics does not exceed 1,780,500, in a nation of 400,000,000." I rather think that good Father Martinez has underestimated the number of Catholics which, considering the countless obstacles thrown in the way of the Catholic missionary, is most gratifying.

The Société des Missions Étrangères, or Society of Foreign Missions, founded in 1658-63, owes its existence to Mgr. Pallu, Vicar Apostolic of Tonkin, and Mgr. Lambert de la Motte, Vicar Apostolic of Cochin-China, who left France in 1660 or 1663 and went to their respective Vicariates. The aim of this new missionary organization was, as it is to this day, the conversion of heathens by means of the establishing of churches and the raising up of a native clergy. This has always been the plan pursued by Catholic missionaries. The first step of the Society looking to this end was undertaken by a body of priests, who were appointed in 1163. They were to act as agents. A house was established in Paris, which was to be the motherhouse of the Society, which soon received the approbation of Pope Alexander VI. It must be observed that this Society is neither a religious order nor a religious congregation; it is simply an organization of secular priests living under a rule approved by the Holy See, and banded together for the work of evangelizing the heathen in infidel lands.

The conditions for entrance into this Society require the applicant to pledge himself to devote his whole life to the service of the Missions, in return for which the Society assures him the means of sanctification and perseverance, and all necessary temporal sup-

port and assistance. In other words, it promises him nothing in a temporal sense but "his keep," untold hardship and a prospect of martyrdom. In place of a Superior-General or Superior, the Society has the Bishops, Vicars Apostolic and the Board of Directors, the seminaries, who exercise jurisdiction over it. In its missions the Society depends on the Propaganda, and through it, on the Pope.

The most important events in the first period (1658 to 1700) are the publication of their book, "Institutions Apostoliques," which deals with the principle of this rule, the foundation of the General Seminary, at Siam, in India; the evangelization of Tonkin, Canton, in China; Cambodia and Siam, "where more than 40,000 persons were baptized; the creation of the Institute Annanite Nuns, known as the 'Lovers of the Cross,' the establishment of order among the cabalists and the ordination of thirty native priests."[3]

The members of the Society were not always engaged in religious exercises. They frequently gave their services to the Chinese government in the capacity of scientists and diplomats, that they might secure protection and favor in the great work that was uppermost in their minds. Thus we find Monsignor Pignau de Barbiére performing signal service to the king of the region in which he labored, by acting as the king's agent in making a treaty with France, which was the first step towards the cordial relations existing to this day between France and Indo-China.

The French Revolution did much to impede the growth of the Society, which had, up to this time, been almost phenomenal, because, previous to this revolution, the Society had six Bishops, a score of missionaries assisted by *one hundred and thirty-five native priests,* while in their various missions there were nine seminaries with 250 students and over 300,000 Christians.

Among the early laborers in the Lord's vineyard in China was Monsignor Maignot, Vicar Apostolic of Fo-kin (1687), who was consecrated in 1683. In December, 1706, this Emperor issued a decree banishing Monsignor Maignot and Father Appiana, C. M., and several other priests. The Emperor found fault with all missionaries reported to him as maintaining the decisions of Rome in the unfortunate discussions of the then burning question of Rites.[4] This question does not concern us at present. Among those who fell under the Emperor's displeasure, as we have seen, was Mon-

[3] See Catholic Encyclopedia.

[4] See "Memorie Storiche della Controversia dei Culti Cinese," Colonia, 1700. See also: "Anecdotes sur les Affaires de la Chine," Paris, 1734. Also "Istovia della Cose Operate nolla Cina da Mgr. Ambrogio Mazzabarba, 1730. Further reference may be found in "Memoires de la Congregation de la Mission, in China;" Paris, 1911, 2 vols. Also, "Historia de las Misiones Augustinas en China," by Padre Bernando Martinez, Madrid, 1918.

signor Maignot, who, after a life of arduous labors, bitter trials and heart-sores, went to Rome, where he died in 1730.

The history of the work of the Fathers of the Société des Missions Étrangères in the early days is difficult to trace, while its more recent history in the eighteenth and nineteenth century abounds in records of all the trials, martyrdoms and glorious triumphs that belong to the missionary life, but all this, interesting and edifying as it is, belongs in a period subsequent to that contemplated in this article.

We have referred to the work of the missionaries in the field of science and education. In a former article we called attention to the work done in this respect by the Jesuits and Lazarists. The other Orders were not behind their co-laborers. The only dictionary French-Corean, and the only Corean grammar in existence (up to 1896) was the work of missionaries of the Missions Étrangères, Paris, published in Cochin-China, in 1850. One of these Fathers compiled a Chinese dictionary which is highly prized. Remembering that they were the confrères of Father Amiot, the creator of the sinology of the last century, the Jesuits have published from their press at Zi-ka-wen an entire series of Chinese works. "Les Variétiés Sinologiques," "La Bousole du Langage" and the "Franco-Chinese Method," by Father Henri Boucher; the "Cursus Literaturæ," by Father Zoblo, both crowned by the Academy. The latter Father has also published a large Chinese dictionary. In the meantime, Father Benavente, O. S. A., compiled a Chinese dictionary and translated into Spanish, from Chinese, a natural history; another Augustinian Father a "Historia de las Filipinas," published in 1763, wherein he records some highly interesting memoranda relating to the Augustinian missions in North and South China. Father Ignacio Gregorio de Santa Teresa, O. S. A., was another well-known author whose many works were printed in Canton. In 1580, Father Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, wrote and translated a much-quoted history of China. These are only a few of the literary works produced by the Augustinian missionaries engaged in the evangelization of China.

In a former article I referred to the first steps taken to plant the Cross of Christ in the Celestial Empire. A few days ago I came across a most important statement in the *Good Work,* an excellent monthly mission magazine, published in New York under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. It gives an account of the discovery of a large monumental stone, found in the earth, by some workmen who were digging the foundation of a house, in the province of Chen-Siu. This stone, the article above referred to tells us, resembles "those the Chinese are in the

habit of raising to preserve to posterity the remembrance of remarkable events and of illustrious men."

Two scientific priests, Father Alvarez Senedo and Father Martini, were the first to examine this stone. After them Father Boym, a Pole, "who with the assistance of Chinese men of letters, undertook the translation of the inscription."

This examination resulted in the discovery that Christianity had had numerous followers in China as far back as the seventh century and that it had flourished for some time. The monumental stone states the fact that "a religious man, named Olopen, a man of eminent virtue, came in 635 from Ta-Thoin (the Roman Empire) to Si-guam-Fou. The Emperor sent his officers to meet him, had him brought to the palace, and ordered him to translate the sacred books he had brought with him. The books having been examined, the Emperor pronounced the doctrine they contained good, and permitted its publication."

The report goes on to say that the doctrine contained in this book proclaimed that "Aloho (God) created the heavens and the earth; that Satan, having seduced the first man, God sent the Messias to deliver the human race from original sin; that the Messiah was born of a Virgin, in the country of Ta-Thoin, and that the Persians went to adore Him, in order that the law and the predictions might be accomplished." The inscription also gives the names of the priests who went to China in the suite of Olopen.

The American hierarchy has of late years taken a deep interest in the Chinese Mission, and in 1912 the "Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America" was founded. Its headquarters are located at Maryknoll, Ossining, N. Y., and its present president is the Very Rev. James A. Walsh, Mis. Ap. The institution numbers some seventy students who are training for work in China. The priests and Sisters who have gone from America to China have already given evidence of their good work; they have cheerfully accepted the toils and sufferings of missionary life, and some of them have even given up their lives for the cause in which they are engaged. They claim no credit for being Americans. While their Americanism is above all question, as missionaries they are Catholics and servants of those unto whom they are sent to minister. The Catholic papers of this country are full of the details of their work in China, so that it will not be necessary for us to dwell upon it here.

We might refer, in passing, to the noble work accomplished by the women who are devoting their lives to the welfare of their sex in heathen lands. These women are not seeking to shine in the political and social sphere; they are satisfied to do God's work in silence, in suffering and in humility. They carry their sacred voca-

tion with them into heathen lands and their example allures the young women of those lands to a similar life. Thus it is that we read of a community of Chinese girls, formed a few years ago, and known as the Daughters of the Sacred Heart. They wear no distinctive habit, but wear the simple dress of the country. This attracts less attention and enables them to work among the women and children with less inconvenience and molestation on the part of persons hostile to the Christian religion. Their only mark of distinction is a large medal worn on the breast, and bearing the image of the Sacred Heart on one side and that of the Immaculate Conception on the other. The special work of these devoted women is not only to teach the branches usual in all schools, but they teach catechism and attend dispensaries, and in their journeyings from village to village minister to the sick and dying, and baptize infants in danger of death. They travel in groups of four, and spend three or more days a week in each village according to its necessities. This society of devoted women has earned well-merited favor and has increased its membership to nearly double in six years.

In looking over the work of the American missionaries in China, we find that the Brothers of Mary, of Dayton, Ohio, have in their colleges in Tien-tsin, Shanghai, Hankow, Wuchang, Canton, Nankin, Chefou and Ning-po some 2,500 Chinese youths in attendance. The standards attained in all these institution is the highest, and the accommodations are taxed to their utmost. Altogether, we are told, there are ninety-five European and thirty-two Chinese Brothers in their schools and colleges.

In this article as well as in the one in the January issue of this QUARTERLY, I have endeavored to give merely a few of the most prominent events in the beginnings of Christianity in China. I realize that I am far from doing justice to the subject and that I have covered but a small portion of the vast field, but, as I have maintained all along, my object has not been to write a book. I aimed simply to write what might be regarded as "Notes" on the Chinese missions, leaving the writing of a more complete work to younger and better informed hands. If I have succeeded in awakening an interest in the work of our missionaries in the earlier and later periods of their careers I shall feel that my efforts have not been in vain.

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TEMPORAL GOODS AND MERIT.

THERE is a word, which, handed down from individual to individual, from family to family, from nation to nation, conveys the idea of a state of common worry and universal deception. Such is the word of Jeremias: "Why doth the way of the wicked prosper? Why is it well with all that transgress and do wickedly?"[1]

The share that comes to the wicked in the distribution of temporal goods has always been, and especially nowadays, a great embarrassment to religion and one of the main problems of Catholic apology.

Why, it is frequently objected, do honest and religious persons live in extreme want and poverty, while others, very irreligious ones, possess large wealth? Why do not Catholic nations attain that material prosperity which Protestant countries boast of?

It has been stated that this difficulty rests on a wrong supposition. Some wished, in fact, to prove that in the distributing of temporal goods equality is kept between Christians and infidels, Catholic and non-Catholic countries; both kinds of people enjoy these goods alike.

But this answer adds new strength and vigor to the question. The good man, of course, is entitled to receive more than the wicked from the common Giver: how, then, can we think even of an equal share in temporal goods, whereas the titles to acquiring them are so various?

Others reply that God is merciful, equally as just; and treats in this life the wicked according to His large mercy, because He will do severe justice to them in the life to come.

But who does not know that many evil persons earn heaven in their last moments, after having thoroughly enjoyed this world? Nations, moreover, do not hope for another life.

The answer, consequently, though good in particular cases, cannot be accepted, when a universal principle and common rule are wanted.

As to our personal view, we hold that individuals as well as nations obtain that material welfare which they deserve for their works, few cases excepted. We believe that the temporal goods possessed by any man whosoever correspond to a title of justice

[1] Ierem., xii., 1.

before God, and that they are applied to persons and nations according to their merits.

Temporal goods are those things which afford man some profit that passes away with time itself, and affects the receiver's natural condition.

We may reduce them to three kinds: external goods (as riches, honor, fame, dominion or power), goods of the body (as health, beauty, strength and sensitive pleasures), and goods of the soul (those of the appetitive faculty, as moral virtues, and those of the mind, as genius, mental penetration and talent).

The temporal goods cannot be the sheer and simple good of man, by the very fact that they are temporal and man is made to live an everlasting life. Thus they are man's partial and relative good; good *secundum quid,* good for now only.

They may be used, however, as a means to attain the eternal good; and in this respect they participate *formaliter* in the goodness *simpliciter* of the eternal good.

"Merit," says St. Thomas, "and reward refer to the same; for a reward means something given any one in return for work or toil, as a price for it. Hence, as it is an act of justice, to make a return for work or toil."[2]

Let us state hereby that a debt of rigorous justice from God to man cannot be given: consequently neither rigorous merit in man before God. All the good actions performed by man, even those which proceed from the free will are due to God, because from God man receives all his power of well-doing, since He is the first Mover and main Cause of them. Wherefore as "no matter what a son may do, he can never give back to his father the equal of what he has received from him,"[3] so also man can never adequately repay God what he owes Him. By the performance of good, man, rather than bringing anything into his credit, merely pays back to God that which he has received from His hands.

However, a proportionate justice may rightly be said to exist between God and man. When man shows himself generous toward God, it seems but natural that God, in return, prove Himself bountiful towards man; just as a father ought to manifest a deeper affection and give a goodly proportion of his inheritance to the son who is ever faithful and loving towards him. "It is congruous," says St. Thomas, "that when a man makes good use of his power, God should by His super-excellent power work still higher things."[4] God and man in both cases operate after their own manner: and the proportion, as such, is quite just.

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2 Summa Theolog., I., ii., 114, 1.
3 Ibid., Suppl., 14, 4, ad 1m.
4 Ibid., I., ii., 114, 6.

This proportional justice, that can exist between God and any of His creatures, as each acts after its own manner, and that has prompted St. Thomas to say: "To each one is due what is his own; now that which is directed to a man is said to be his own. . . . Thus in the divine operations debt may be regarded in two ways, as due either to God, or to creatures, and in either way God pays what is due. It is due to God that there should be fulfilled in creatures what His will and wisdom require, and what manifests His goodness. . . . It is also due to a created thing that it should possess what is ordered to it,"[5] this proportional justice, I say again, is merit, when we speak of man. For if only the gratuitous work is rewarded, it is in two ways that a work can be considered gratuitous: first, *ex parte ipsius operis,* when man is not bound to do it; second, *ex parte operantis,* when man does it by his free will.[6]

From God man received human nature and the faculties of body and mind, and from Him also he receives the actuation of those God-given powers.

On the other hand, the order of execution does not precede the order of action, but follows it. So that God does not prepare the reward for the action, but, on the contrary, He prepares the action for the reward. The fact that man deserves a reward for the work done according to his own manner of acting presupposes, therefore, the divine preordination which guides man in his action to a predestined recompense. "Man's merit with God only exists on the presupposition of the divine ordination, so that man obtains from God, as a reward of his operation, what God gave him the power of operation for."[7]

The other creatures obtain also from God by their proper movements and operations all they were destined for; but man receives it as a reward, because he moves himself and acts as a free being.[8]

Hence a meritorious work is a human action, ordained by God to the attainment of a good of the agent, as a reward previously and divinely appointed for it.

Now, in so far as the good, to which a meritorious act tends, is a

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[5] Ibid., I., 21, 1, ad 3m.
[6] Ibid., II., ii., 104, 1, ad 3m.
[7] Ibid., I., ii., 114, 1.
[8] "Actus humanus habet rationem merendi ex duobus: primo quidem et principaliter ex divina ordinatione, secundum quod actus dicitur esse meritorius illius boni ad quod homo divinitus ordinatur. Secundo vero ex parte liberi arbitrii, inquantum scilicet homo habet prae ceteris creaturis ut per se agat voluntarie agens" (Summa Theol., I., ii., 114, 4). "Etiam res naturales hoc consequuntur a Deo per proprios motus et operationes, ad quod a Deo sunt ordinatae: differenter tamen, quia creatura rationalis se ipsam movet ad agendum per liberum arbitrium, unde sua actio habet rationem meriti, quod non est in aliis creaturis" (Ib., I., ii., 114, 1). "Homo, inquantum propria voluntate facit illud quod debet, meretur" (1., c., ad 1m.)

good *secundum quid,* or a good *simpliciter,* the merit will be *natural* or *supernatural* from the object.[9]

Moreover, if the quantitative value of the act is equal to the quantitative value of the reward, the merit in both, the natural and supernatural, order will be *de condigno;* otherwise, *de congruo.*

Whilst the reward comes from God alone, the meritorious action proceeds together both from God, as the first Cause, and from man, as a free agent. Inasmuch as the action comes from God, its value is always equal to the value of the recompense; but as it proceeds from man's free will, it remains far inferior.[10]

Having explained the extent and meaning of the terms, our first proposition is as follows: Temporal goods, as suitable means to the attainment of the simple, eternal, supernatural good, fall under supernatural merit.

For the act is specified by its formal object, and the faculty by its act.

Consequently the principle of the supernatural merit is God moving man by His Grace, and man moving himself under the motion of this grace. "No act of anything whatsoever is divinely ordained to anything exceeding the proportion of the powers which are the principles of its act: for it is a law of Divine Providence that nothing shall act beyond its powers. Now, everlasting life is a good exceeding the proportion of created nature; since it exceeds its knowledge and desire. . . . Hence it is that no created nature is a sufficient principle of an act meritorious of eternal life, unless there is added a supernatural gift, which we call grace."[11]

God, then, in the meritorious act moves the just man by giving him the power of working supernaturally, or the *actus primus,* by habitual grace, and the supernatural actuation of this power, or the *actus*

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[9] St. Thomas calls this twofold merit, merit secundum quid and merit simpliciter (Summa Theol. I., ii., 114, 10); but this terminology might give way to confusion between merit's division ex parte mercedis and ex parte debiti (Ib. I., ii., 114, 1).

[10] "Si consideretur (opus meritorium) secundum substantiam operis, et secundum quod procedit ex libero arbitrio, sic non potest ibi esse condignitas propter maximam inaequalitatem; sed est ibi congruitas propter quamdam aequalitatem proportionis. Videtur enim congruum ut homini operanti secundum suam virtutem, Deus recompenset secundum excellentiam suae virtutis. Si autem loquamur de opere meritorio, secundum quod procedit ex gratia Spiritus Sancti, sic est meritorium vitae aeternae ex condigno. Sic enim valor meriti attenditur secundum virtutem Spiritus Sancti moventis nos in vitam aeternam" (Summ. Theol., I., ii., 114, 3). "Gratia Spiritus Sancti, quam in praesenti habemus, etsi non sit aequalis gloriae in actu, est tamen aequalis in virtute" (Ibid., ad 3m).

[11] Summ. Theol., I., ii., 114, 2—For the right understanding of these words: Life everlasting . . . exceeds its knowledge and desire, we refer the kind reader to our article "El Deseo Natural De Ver a Dios" ("La Ciencia Tomista," Madrid, Enero, 1921).

secundus, by actual grace.[12] So that man, endowed with the *posse* conferred by the first grace, will pass to the *agere* by the second, coöperating with God and under His supernatural motion to the meritorious act.

The just man merits in a supernatural way everlasting life. And, since "the motion of a mover extends not merely to the last term of the movement, but to the whole progress of the movement,"[13] the just man likewise merits with supernatural merit the means to reach it.

Suitable means are the increase of grace and many other spiritual favors: "progress in this movement," added St. Thomas, "is by the increase of charity or grace according to Prov. iv., 18: 'But the path of the just as a shining light, goeth forward and increaseth even to perfect day,' which is the day of glory."[14]

According to our opinion, temporal goods are also suitable to obtain eternal life: it goes without saying that the just will merit them under the same title. "We must say," says St. Thomas, "that if temporal goods are considered as they are useful for virtuous works, whereby we are led to heaven, they fall directly and simply under merit, even as increase of grace, and everything whereby a man is helped to attain beatitude after the first grace."[15]

This equality, placed by the Angelic Doctor between temporal goods and the increase of grace, gives us the occasion to fix the nature and extent of the merit of which we are talking.

By his supernatural works the just man merits for himself all the temporal goods necessary and useful for his own salvation; and he merits them, not only *de congruo* but *de condigno* also. For condign merit is based upon the motion of grace, and the just man is moved through grace to arrive at exerlasting life, and to obtain the means to reach it. Hence St. Thomas concluded, saying: "And thus the increase of grace falls under condign merit."[16]

Just because condign merit is rooted in the motion of grace, the just man cannot condignly merit temporal goods for another since "each one of us is moved by God so that he himself reach life everlasting through the gift of grace; hence condign merit does not reach beyond this motion."[17] Jesus Christ alone, who is our Head,

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[12] "Natura comparatur ad caritatem, quae est merendi principium, sicut materia ad forman. . . . Manifestum est autem quod subiectum vel materia non potest agere nisi virtute formae" (S. Theol., II., ii., 2, 9, ad 1m). "Quantumcumque natura aliqua corporalis vel spiritualis ponatur perfecta, non potest in actum procedere, nisi moveatur a Deo" (Ib. I., ii., 109, 1).

[13] S. Theol. I., ii., 114, 8.

[14] Ibid., ib.

[15] Ib. I., ii., 114, 10.

[16] Ib. I., ii., 114, 8.

[17] Ib. I., ii., 114, 6.

received a grace which influences and is communicated to all the faithful, His members.[18]

The just man, however, can merit them congruously. "Because a man in grace fulfills God's will, it is congruous and in harmony with friendship, that God should fulfill man's desire for the salvation of another."[19]

If temporal goods are considered in themselves, as goods *secundum quid, natural,* of the present life, they fall under natural merit. This is our second thesis.

Act, we repeat, is specified by its formal object, and faculty by its act. And because the object in this case is *materialiter* and *formaliter* natural, consequently the act that tends to this object and the faculty by which this act is performed must also be natural.

We do not speak here of the supernatural principle of merit, which is grace, nor of the agent deserver, who is the just man. There is a proportional order between the movers and the ends. Hence, if the end is natural, God moves man with natural motion, and under this natural motion, not the just, but the man will move himself.

Even in this natural order there is a two-fold motion from God: for He gives the faculty to act *(actus primus)*, and applies it to work *(actus secundus)*.[20]

In virtue of this two-fold motion from God, man moves himself freely.[21]

Hence, even in natural order there is a merit *de condigno,* in so far the meritorious act comes from God, and a merit *de congruo,* in so far as it proceeds from man's free will.

Though this application may seem audacious, it is nevertheless logic. The same relation, which exists in the supernatural merit between grace habitual, and actual and the free motion of man under those graces in regard to the supernatural meritorious act, exists in natural merit between the power of operation and the divine motion actuating it and the free motion of man under God's motion in regard to the natural meritorious act. Because habitual

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[18] "Sicut supra dictum est, q. 8, Christo data est gratia, non solum sicut singulari personae, sed inquantum est caput Ecclesiae, ut scilicet ab Ipso redundaret ad membra; et ideo opera Christi hoc modo se habent tam ad se quam ad sua membra, sicut se habent opera alterius hominis in gratia constituti ad ipsum" (S. Theol. III., 48, 1).

[19] S. Theol. I., ii., 114, 6.

[20] "Deus movet non solum res ad operandum, quasi applicando formas et virtutes rerum ad operationem (sicut artifex applicat securim ad scindendum, qui tamen interdum formam securi non tribuit), sed etiam dat formas creaturis agentibus, et eas tenet in esse" (S. Theol. I., 105, 5).

[21] "Deus est prima causa movens et naturales causas et voluntarias. Et sicut naturalibus causis, movendo eas, non aufert quin actus earum sint naturales, ita movendo causas voluntarias, non aufert quin actiones earum sint voluntariae, sed potius hoc in eis facit: operatur enim in unoquoque secundum eius proprietatem" (S. Theol. I., 83, 1, ad 3m).

grace is to the supernatural meritorious act, as a faculty to an act, and actual grace is nothing else than the divine actuation of this very faculty. Man cöoperates with God both in the meritorious act with natural merit as well as in the meritorious act with supernatural merit.[22]

As supernatural reward comes only from God, so does natural. We must bear always in mind that even in the natural order human acts fall under the Divine Providence, that the success of the natural works is not the result of hazard, but the goal to which God directs us through them. Even in this order God did not prepare reward for the act, but disposed the act for the attainment of reward.

Let us suppose, then, that God, having endowed man with the natural faculty to work naturally in a given order, He moves him with His physical and natural motion or premotion to the actuation of that faculty; and let us suppose, at the same time, that man moves himself, according to his way of doing, to perform an act without decreasing the divine motion. In this case man will attain through his own work to such and such good results, which, though they may appear a natural consequence, are really the reward to the attainment of which God had foreordained him and led him.[23]

Whenever we see a natural good of the agent, which is the effect proportionate to his virtuality and act, we might regard it as a reward naturally merited "inasmuch as men are moved by God to do temporal works, in which, with God's help, they reach their purpose":[24] this God-given help explains it all.

The greater the treasury of natural energies, the more perfect the use made of them, the greater the reward will be.

Man is naturally a social being. God did not make him to

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22 " . . . Ut sicut vita aeterna est simpliciter praemium operum iustitiae per relationem ad motionem divinam, ita temporalia bona in se considerata habeant rationem mercedis, habito respectu ad motionem divinam, qua voluntates hominum moventur ad haec prosequenda" (S. Theol. I., ii., 114, 10)—"Quemadmodum in merito simpliciter invenitur prima radix ordinatio divina per gratiae donum, et secunda liberum arbitrium: ita in merito secundum quid invenitur ordinatio divina, non per gratiam, quia non est aliquid excedens naturam, sed per propositum consequendi illud temporale; et liberum arbitrium operans pro consecutione illius" (Cajet. in h. l.) "Sicut vita aeterna et omnia quibus homo adiuvatur ad perveniendum ad beatitudinem post primam gratiam, cadunt simpliciter sub merito et sunt simpliciter praemium operum iustitiae per relationem ad motionem divinam, ut Deus est auctor gratiae; ita temporalia bona in se considerata habent rationem mercedis habito respectu ad motionem divinam, qua voluntates hominum moventur ad talia bona prosequenda a Deo, ut auctor naturae est" (Del Prado, De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio, Friburgi Helv., 1907, Vol. I., p. 675).

23 "Meritum hominis apud Deum esse non potest nisi secundum praesuppositionem divinae ordinationis; ita scilicet ut id homo consequatur a Deo per suam operationem, quasi mercedem, ad quod Deus ei virtutem operandi deputavit. Sicut etiam res naturales hoc consequuntur a Deo per proprios motus et operationes, ad quod a Deo sunt ordinatae. Differenter tamen, quia creatura rationalis seipsam movet ad agendum per liberum arbitrium, unde sua actio habet rationem meriti quod non est in aliis creaturis" (S. Theol. I., ii., 114, 1).

24 Ib. I., ii., 114, 10.

live alone. The faculties with which God endowed him must have as their end the welfare of the person and of his neighbors.

By his natural works, then, man merits either *de congruo* and *de condigno* temporal goods for himself and for some one else. There is a proportion between the movers and the ends.

To merit is not the same as to receive the reward.

Reward is the result of God's ordinance, and God appoints the time for its reception. The just man merits an increase of grace and charity and life everlasting for each act performed in sanctifying grace: and yet he does not receive this at once. "Every act of charity," says St. Thomas, "merits everlasting life, which, however, is not to be bestowed then and there, but at its proper time."[25] "As eternal life is not given at once, but in its own time, so neither is grace increased at once, but in its own time."[26]

Further, contingent causes may fail, and he who merits either naturally or supernaturally, may lose his title to the reward before receiving it, and become unworthy of it. The just man merits with supernatural merit life everlasting by every good act performed in charity, and yet, he cannot merit restoration to the state of grace after a future sin, though it is absolutely necessary for his salvation after a fall.[27]

The natural end is subordinated to the supernatural.

Hence, the just man, who can merit temporal goods naturally, may merit supernaturally their removal, when they prove an obstacle to his spirtitual improvement and perfection. For this reason St. Thomas, commenting on those words of the Exodus: "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thou mayest be long lived upon the land," . . . [28] says as follows: "Longevity is promised to those who honor their parents, not only with regard to the future life, but also with regard to the present. . . . Because although the present goods or evils do not fall under merit or demerit, unless, in as far as they are ordained for future remuneration, sometimes, according to the hidden reason of divine judgments, which look especially to future remuneration, some, who are very pious and obedient towards their parents, are snatched very early from this life."[29]

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[25] Ib. II., ii., 24, 6, ad 1m.
[26] Ib. I., ii., 114, 8, ad 3m.
[27] Ib. I., ii., 114, 7.
[28] Ex. xx., 12.
[29] S. Theol. II., ii., 122, 5, ad 4m.—"Sicut dicit Philosophus, haec bona temporalia intantum sunt bona, inquantum utilia ad felicitatem. Unde si quis haberet tantum de temporalibus, quod propter ipsa impediretur a bono virtutis et felicitatis, hoc non esset sibi ad bonam fortunam, sed ad malam, ut dicitur. Et longitudo vitae est unum de temporalibus, intantum bonum, inquantum coadiuvat ad virtutem. Aliquando autem est occassio ad peccandum, et ideo Deus aliquando substrahit eam homini, non quia deficiat a promissione, sed quia dat quod melius est. Raptus est, ne malitia immutaret intellectum eius" (S. Thomas, in I. Tim. c. 4, lect. 2).

A mere man, who can merit temporal goods by natural merit, may also be found unworthy of them by his obstinate and wicked resistance to the divine supernatural vocation. In the same manner nations that consciously reject or abjure the Catholic faith may be punished with the deprivation of temporal prosperity, which, on account of previous services, God had pledged to give them. Does not the history of the Israelite people reveal this to us? To what is their humiliation, their slavery, their wandering life due, but to the sin committed against the trust, that, in the supernatural order, they should have placed in their God? And finally, what caused their entire ruin, but the sin of deicide, by which they filled the measure of their iniquities? "Behold your house shall be left to you, desolate."[30]

This, however, is an exceptional occurrence which does not make the rule.

The rule is, that God recompenses the merit of the action of which He was the mover; that the just man receives the temporal goods which he has won by natural and supernatural merit; that man is rewarded with worldly prosperity for those things performed through natural power.[31]

And because the supernatural merit in this order embraces a very close circuit, ordinarily speaking, for *having food and wherewith to be covered, with those we are content,*[32] when the comparison is established between the temporal welfare of unbelievers and the faithful, and between Catholic nations and Protestant countries, we must of necessity forget the religious question and do not consider but the natural order, in which the reward is apportioned to the store of energies and their use.

So it is, that prosperity found in some Protestant countries, since it is natural, does not arise from Protestantism, but from human endeavor.

A young nation of strong character, of robust constitution and of talent for enterprise, who faithfully and passionately cultivate a virgin soil, can obtain more abundant fruits than a timid, effeminate and decrepit nation, that live idly on a worn out land.

That people by exploiting their soil have followed the natural

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[30] Mt. xxiii., 38.

[31] "Hieronymus dicit: Si quando videris inter multa mala opera facere peccatorem quemquam aliqua quae ilusta sunt, non est ta miniustus Deus ut propter multa mala obliviscatur paucorum bonorum. Dicendum, quod Deus recordatur bonorum quae quis fecit in statu peccati, non ut remuneret ea in vita aeterna, quae debetur solis operibus vivis, id est ex caritate factis; sed remunerat ea temporali remuneratione, sicut Gregorius dicit in hom. De divite et Lazaro, quod: Nisi dives ille aliquod bonum egisset et in praesenti saeculo remunerationem accepisset, nequaquam ei Abraham diceret: Recepisti bona in vita tua" (S. Theol. III., 89, 6, arg. et resp. ad 3m).

[32] I. Tim. vi., 8.

motion of God, who gave it to them in order that they might improve it:[33] and because they followed God's motion, He has rewarded them.

This is irrelevant to point its supernatural merit, as it may be null: for the reward is natural and for a natural merit it has been granted to them.

Whatsoever they have obtained being the majority Protestants, they would also have obtained if they were all Catholics.

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[33] "Quare non dedisti pecuniam meam ad mensam, ut ego veniens cum usuris utique exegissem illam?" (Lc. 19, 23).

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THE CONTROL OF THE FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

PRIOR to the date when the United States became a sovereign nation, the treaty-making power was, in theory, in the Continental Congress. That body, however, could not enforce its decrees and was dependent upon the will of the several, and at that time, independent States.

When the Convention of 1787 met in Philadelphia, it was at first proposed to vest the power to declare war, to make treaties and to appoint and receive ambassadors in the Senate alone. The country had but recently felt the hand of the King of Great Britain, and it was somewhat disinclined to trust the executive in these matters. The Convention met May 25, 1787. On June 1, in the course of the debate, Mr. Pinckney observed that while he favored a vigorous executive, he did not favor granting power to him as to peace and war. Mr. Rutledge "said he was for vesting the executive power in a single person, though he was not for giving him the power of peace and war." Mr. Wilson stated that "he did not consider the prerogatives of the British monarch a proper guide in defining executive powers. Some of these prerogatives were of a legislative executive nature; among others, that of war and peace, etc. The only powers he considered strictly executive were those of executing the laws and appointing officers, not appertaining to, and appointed by, the Legislature." In the original plan offered by Mr. Randolph on May 29, it was provided that "the Senate shall have the sole and exclusive power to declare war; and to make treaties; and to appoint ambassadors and other ministers to foreign nations."—Art. VII. "The Legislature of the United States" was also given power "to call forth the aid of the militia to execute the laws of the Union, to enforce treaties, suppress insurrections and repel invasions."—Art. VI. On June 18, Mr. Hamilton suggested that the executive be granted "with the advice and approbation of the Senate, the power of making treaties; to have the sole appointment of the heads or chief officers of the Department of Finance, War and Foreign Affairs; to have the nomination of all officers (Ambassadors to foreign nations included) subject to the approbation or rejection of the Senate"; that "The Senate" "shall have the sole power of declaring war; the power of advising and approving all treaties." On June 26, Mr. Wilson observed that "The Senate will probably be the depositary of the powers concerning the latter subjects," to wit, wars and treaties.

On August 6, the Report of the Committee on Detail provided that "the Legislature of the United States" shall have the power to "enforce treaties," to make war, etc.—Art. VII. And it also specified that "The Senate of the United States shall have the power to make treaties, and to appoint ambassadors." The President was given the power "to receive Ambassadors."—Art. IX. In the debate of August 17, on the question as to granting of power to make war, Mr. Pinckney opposed "the vesting of this power in the Legislature. . . . The Senate would be the best depositary, being more acquainted with foreign affairs." Mr. Butler advocated the "vesting the power in the Senate." "Mr. Madison and Mr. Gerry moved to insert 'declare' striking out 'make' war; leaving to the executive the power to repel sudden attacks." This was agreed to. On August 20, Mr. Gouverneur Morris, seconded by Mr. Pinckney, proposed that "the Secretary of Foreign Affairs shall be appointed by the President during pleasure. It shall be his duty to correspond with all foreign ministers, prepare plans and treaties, and consider such as may be transmitted abroad; and generally to attend to the interests of the United States in their connections with foreign powers." This was referred to the Committee on Detail. On August 23, Art. IX, Sec. 1, being resumed, to wit: "The Senate of the United States shall have the power to make treaties and to appoint ambassadors and Judges of the Supreme Court," Mr. Madison observed that the Senate represented the States alone; and that for this as well as other obvious reasons, it was proper that the President should be the agent in treaties. After debate, the matter was postponed for further consideration. The Convention adjourned September 27. It had been in session since May 23, and this was the first real proposal to permit the executive any power as to conduct of foreign relations. On August 25, the words, "the power of the President to receive ambassadors" was amended to read that he "shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers." This is the only exclusive power in the conduct of foreign relations that the Convention was vesting in the executive. On September 4, the Committee of Eleven reported, among other things, that "the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall have power to make treaties; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors and other public ministers, Judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not otherwise herein provided for. But no treaty shall be made without the consent of two-thirds of the members present." On September 7, the first part of this section was taken up. Mr. Wilson moved to add after

the word, "Senate" the words, "and House of Representatives." The matter was briefly debated and the amendment lost. The clause as it read was adopted *nem. con.*, and the words, "and consuls," added. Mr. Wilson raised the objection that if two-thirds was necessary, a minority might control the will of the majority. An exception was made as to treaties of peace. Mr. Madison then moved to authorize a concurrence of two-thirds of the Senate to make treaties of peace, without the concurrence of the President. The President, he said, would necessarily derive so much power and importance from a state of war that he might be tempted, if authorized, to impede a treaty of peace. Mr. Butler seconded the motion. Mr. Gorham thought the security unnecessary, as the means of carrying on the war would not be in the hands of the President, but in the Legislature. Mr. Gouverneur Morris thought the power of the President in this case harmless; and that no peace ought to be made without the concurrence of the President, who was the general guardian of the national interests. The motion was lost and the section as amended adopted. On September 12, a report was made by the committee. In this we find the provision finally incorporated in the Constitution of the United States.

From this it is apparent that the Convention intended to vest the power as to foreign relations in both the Senate and the President. At first, it was reluctant to grant any power whatsoever to the executive—but near the close of the session, on the suggestion of Madison, the President was given power to negotiate and conclude treaties, acting all the while with the advice and consent of the Senate. The only exclusive power that the President seems to have been given, in foreign relations, was to receive foreign diplomatic agents.

From this power to receive ambassadors, it is argued that the President may judge as to recognition of foreign countries and as to belligerency. The history of the Convention of 1787 does not, however, disclose this intention, and if any portion of such power be exclusively in the President, it must be as a necessary incident to his power to receive ambassadors. The power to receive foreign representatives, however, is one that must be exercised subsequent to decision as to whether there shall be any diplomatic relations whatsoever. The latter is a matter as to the very nature of foreign relations and the former as to the personnel of the agency. The latter goes to the very root of our relations with other governments and therefore is a matter that comes within neither the exclusive control of the President nor the Senate, nor, for that matter, of the Congress excepting where it involves the question of declaring war or making peace. And while the Senate

may acquiesce or the Congress, in a proper case, may not express a dissent as to the act of the President, nevertheless that fact alone does not vest, divest or change the constitutional powers. This doctrine has been recognized by both the legislative and the executive departments of government, and President Wilson would seem to have been the first to question it. In his message to Congress, December 31, 1836, President Jackson speaks of the recognition of Texas as "a power nowhere expressly delegated and only granted in the Constitution, as it is necessarily involved in some of the great powers given to Congress, in that given to the President and the Senate to form treaties with foreign powers and to appoint ambassadors and other public ministers and in that conferred upon the President to receive ambassadors from foreign nations." Rawle says that "the power of Congress on this subject cannot be controlled; and they may, if they think proper, acknowledge" a foreign government. Alexander Hamilton says in *Federalist,* No. 75, that "the history of human conduct does not warrant that exalted opinion of human virtue which would make it wise in a nation to commit interests so delicate and momentous a kind as those which concern its intercourse with the rest of the world to the sole disposal of a magistrate created and circumstanced as would be the President of the United States." Numerous instances may be found in Hind's "Precedents" where the Congress has acted—in some instances on the initiation of the House of Representatives.

The Constitution of the United States says that the President "shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."—Art. II., Sec. 2. This applies not only to ratification but to negotiation as well. It does not limit the participation of the Senate to adoption or rejection of the treaty, but makes it a party to every step leading up to final consummation of a binding pact. The executive in practice, acting at times nominally and at other times in fact through the Department of State, has the more active part to perform. He is ordinarily the spokesman in matters international. Through this department of his cabinet he may communicate with the governmental representative of other countries. This is done either by the channel of our diplomatic representative in the other country or directly with the foreign ambassador resident in Washington. He may do this, either orally or by written message, as to him may seem best. At times he may and does call into consultation leading members of the Senate or the House of Representatives, or of the Foreign Relations Committee of either house. A recent instance of this is where President Wilson called

to the White House members of the Senate and explained to them the so-called League of Nations Covenant, then in the final stage of negotiation.

If written method of communication be adopted, the note is delivered to the official representative of the foreign government to whom it is addressed, either through the medium of the ambassador of such nation resident in Washington, or through our ambassador in the country to which it is directed, or directly by such special representative. The reply is made through our ambassador in the foreign country or directly to the Secretary of State at Washington through the foreign representative there resident or by special representative. Notes may pass back and forth; personal interviews may be had through diplomatic representatives; consultations with leading Senators may and do occur from time to time; until finally the terms of the proposed compact are agreed on or drafted. The President thereupon submits the treaty to the Senate. He at the same time sends a message conveying to that body such information as he may deem advisable. The Senate, acting as a committee of the whole, considers the matter behind closed doors. This is called an executive session. Public hearings, as in the case of the Panama Tolls hearing, may be held by the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate, or by a special committee to be appointed by the Senate at its option, and testimony and statements taken. Thereafter the matter is referred back to the Senate with such recommendations as the Committee may deem fit to make. The treaty is then considered in open session, and the Senate acts one way or the other in reference to it. If two-thirds of the Senators present vote for ratification, such fact is notified to the President, who signs it, proclaims it and notifies the other nation to the agreement of its adoption. In case the Senate refuses to ratify, further negotiations are necessary. In case the Senate or the Committee that may be considering it desires further light on the subject, it calls upon the President to furnish the same. This process continues until the treaty is finally disposed of. The Judiciary takes no part in either negotiation or ratification.

Treaties are of two kinds: those who are self-executing without an Act of Congress and those which require legislation to carry them into effect. In the former case the treaty is effective on proclamation; but in the latter case it is of no effect until the Congress shall have enacted the necessary legislation.[1] If, for instance, the execution of the provisions of the treaty requires an appropriation by Congress, it would not be effective until such act were passed and became a law. Such a bill must originate in the

[1] Foster vs. Nelson, 2 Pet. 253.

House of Representatives, must pass both houses of Congress and be signed by the President, or, if vetoed, passed over his veto. The treaty is not a nullity—it is merely a part of one general scheme and the treaty remains dormant until Congress enables the execution of it. A good illustration is the purchase of Alaska, or of any territory requiring appropriation. There are many instances other than where expenditure of money is involved where legislation must be had. Congress, and even the House of Representatives alone, may therefore exercise negation on the treaty-making power. Other countries must take notice of this peculiarity in our system of government in dealing with us. Until all requisite branches of government act, the United States is not bound, legally or morally, in any way, shape or form.

The President executes the treaty. In so doing he may take such action as will not infringe upon the powers of the Congress or of the Judiciary. His authority is limited only by the Constitution.

The Judicial Department interprets the Constitution and all acts performed in pursuance thereof. Article II., Sec. 2, of the Constitution provides: "The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

"In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

"The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed."

This section was later amended to contain the following: "The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against

one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State."—Amend. XI.

Any foreign government or its nationals may in a proper case apply to this department of government for redress and thereby effect an amicable adjustment of many controversies. It may even take such course prior to diplomatic negotiations or in aid of the latter. Ordinarily, however, a country will not consent to adjudication of a dispute by public officials of its adversary. Negotiations failing, resort must be had to arbitration or to war.

Arbitration is always initiated by treaty. It is necessarily an extreme remedy, adopted only as a last resort to avoid armed conflict or in matters not vital to the nation. The personnel of the board is selected from other countries. Human nature seems to be so constituted that they are never entirely disinterested. Matters that should not enter the controversy are often determinative of the award. National interest is all controlling and the hearing cannot in the very nature of things be impartial. To illustrate: In the matter of the brig of war, *General Armstrong,* the President of France acted as arbitrator. During the War of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain, an American privateer, bearing letters of marque from this government, was attacked by a British squadron in the neutral port of Fayal, one of the Azores, then under the control of Portugal, in defiance of all rules of international law. The authorities failed to afford the Americans that protection to which they were indubitably entitled, and Captain Reid of the *General Armstrong* was compelled to destroy his ship to prevent its capture by the British. The matter was taken up through diplomatic channels, and finally in 1851 submitted to arbitration. Because of the relations between France and England, the arbitrator arbitrarily decided in favor of Portugal. Our own Court of Claims felt constrained to give judgment to the claimants as against the United States to obviate the injustice of the decision resulting from the submission of the matter to arbitration. This case is typical and shows the practical operation of arbitration.

In recent years, the United States has entered into certain agreements establishing what is known as The Hague Tribunal. This was an attempt to create an impartial court. It was empowered to make awards in matters submitted to it—but not to enforce them. The observance of the decree was left to the honor of the contending nations. International public opinion would condemn any country that failed to conform to the recommendations of this institution where compliance with them was permissible under its governmental institutions. Such a tribunal was in the nature of

things imperfect—but it entered the very shadowland of our constitutional system.

The so-called Bryan arbitration treaties went further and sought to secure delay before resort to war, in order that sober second thought might intervene and prevent bloodshed.

The League of Nations Covenant, so called, was an attempt to formulate a more perfect system. It was an endeavor to create a world institution with power to compel observance of its decrees. This agreement sought as a means to prevent war: (1) delay that would compel a dispassionate consideration of the controversy; (2) ascertainment and publication by a disinterested body of the facts over which the misunderstanding arose and a recommendation to the parties to the controversy of a mode of settlement, and (3) termination of commercial and other relations between the members of the League of Nations and the nation failing to act as in the covenant provided or as members of the League determine that equity and good conscience require. These were the primary means sought to be incorporated in the League of Nations Covenant. Unfortunately provisions were incorporated in that document that were not only violative of the Constitution of the United States as hereinafter discussed, but subversive of the League itself.

The negotiation of this treaty was attempted by the President in person. He seldom conferred with the Senators. He left the United States, taking with him a large number of assistants and established headquarters in France. After negotiation of the league covenant he called to him certain Senators and explained the agreement. He insisted that the instrument should be ratified as he should submit it. He procured its embodiment in the same instrument with the treaty of peace, in order that the one should carry the adoption of the other. Certain Senators, a sufficient number to defeat the covenant, inserted in the *Congressional Record* a signed statement showing their disapproval of the instrument, and sought in this way to impress upon President Wilson the futility of attempting to secure the adoption of the treaty as planned. But the President ignored this. When the treaty was submitted to the Senate for ratification, the Senate refused to acquiesce in its provisions. Senators opposed it on various grounds. They objected to the alliance specified in Article X. of the instrument. They argued that it would bind this country to submit matters such as the Monroe Doctrine, immigration and domestic matters to representatives of countries not in sympathy with our point of view. They said that the council sought to be established was composed of diplomats and not arbitrators. They insisted that the treaty imposed a super-government and invaded our sovereignty. They said

that the covenant was so drawn as to deprive the Senate of participation in foreign affairs and give exclusive control of the same to the President. They argued that it was unconstitutional. They specified numerous other objections, and refused to ratify the treaty as written. And there the matter stands to-day.

In other matters than those involving a treaty, the foreign relations are in practice conducted almost entirely by the executive. If they involve some other department of government, he consults that department. If they do not, then he acts alone.

One important power the President cannot exercise. He cannot declare war. Congress alone may do that. When matters come to such a pass that diplomatic negotiations fail to bring the results sought, and the matter of disagreement is of sufficient moment to justify in his mind a resort to arms, he communicates the facts of the case to the Congress with his recommendations. That body may then declare war or not as it sees fit. It may even on its own motion and in defiance of the desires of the President declare war. Neither the President nor the Judiciary possess any power in the premises. Once war is declared, however, the President is the Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and he executes the will of Congress as evidenced by such declaration of war.

During the continuance of the war, of course, the diplomatic relations between the belligerents are terminated. All ambassadors and public ministers are given their passports and excluded from the country.

Peace is merely cessation of war. This condition may exist either with or without a treaty so declaring; but until the President issues a proclamation of peace, either under direction of the Congress acting by joint resolution by virtue of its power over peace and war, or of his own free will, the country is still technically at war. Diplomatic relations may be resumed and a treaty ratified as in the case of any other treaty—or diplomatic relations may be resumed without a treaty of any kind. The general practice is to enter into a treaty of peace.

Once ratified and proclaimed treaties have the same effect as an Act of Congress. They may be repealed by a later Act of Congress and they cannot bind subsequent Congresses any more than an ordinary act of legislation. "By the Constitution," says the Supreme Court of the United States, "a treaty is placed on the same footing as an act of legislation. Both are declared by that instrument to be the supreme law of the land and no superior efficacy is given either over the other. . . . If the two are inconsistent, the last in date will control the other, provided the stipulation of the

treaty upon the subject is self-executing." [2] If it is not self-executing, of course, the treaty will not supersede the prior Act of Congress until the necessary legislation be enacted to carry it into effect. Both take precedence over the constitutions and laws of the States, provided they be within the grant of power contained in the Constitution of the United States.[3] Both are subject to and must be within the delegations and prohibitions of that instrument.[4] No fundamental change in our system of government can be made by use of this power.[5] Constitutional power cannot be redistributed. The balances created by that instrument cannot be disturbed. Constitutional prohibitions cannot be dispensed with.[6] James Madison said: "I do not believe that the power is given to the President and Senate to dismember or alienate any great essential right. I do not think the whole legislative authority have this power. The exercise of the power must be consistent with the object of the delegation."

In exercising the treaty-making power, therefore, the President and Senate are restricted to the limitations of the Constitution and such as are inherent in the nature of State and Federal governments.[7] Within these limitations, however, the power is plenary.[8] And where these limitations are transcended, the Judiciary may in a proper case declare the treaty to be unconstitutional or of no effect.

Prior to the Declaration of Independence, the people of this country were subjects of Great Britain. Sovereignty was in the Crown, and from it passed to the people of the newly created States. In colonial times, the only semblance of popular voice in government was in the legislative department. That body was theoretically representative of the people at large—but even it was held in restraint by England. Its enactments were not only subject to veto by a governor appointed by the Crown, but also by the King in Council. Judges were dependent on the King of Great Britain for their tenure of office, and from the decisions of these appointees there was an appeal to the Privy Council. An Act of Parliament also took precedence over colonial legislation.

During the War of the Revolution, there necessarily was confusion, and government was ordinarily by local committees. The

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[2] Whitney vs. Robertson, 124 U. S. 190.
[3] See Re Tiburcio Parrott, 1 Fed. 482.
[4] Geofroy vs. Riggs, 133 U. S. 267; People vs. Gerke, 5 Cal. 381; License Tax Cases, 5 How. Rep. 612, 613.
[5] Holden vs. Joy, 17 Wall. 243.
[6] Geofroy vs. Riggs, 133 U. S. 266; Fort Leavenworth R. R. Co. vs. Lowe, 114 U. S. 525.
[7] R. I. vs. Mass., 12 Pet. 724.
[8] Ware vs. Hylton, 3 Dall. 199; Chirac vs. Chirac, 2 Wheaton 259; Houenstein vs. Lynham, 100 U. S.

cities were for the most part in the possession of the British forces, and therefore controlled in the interest of the Tory landholders. The people themselves had very little power. They therefore had not much faith in either the executive or judicial departments of government, and as a result, on attaining independence, the more important powers were vested in the legislatures. Courts and executives were made subordinate and the legislative department was given supreme authority. Now and then a judge would assert his independence, only to be rebuked or possibly removed from office. Abuses naturally crept in and laws of the most vicious tendency and in the interest of certain classes were enacted. Credit was destroyed. Hard times set in. The merchant could not sell his wares and the farmer could not obtain money to pay for harvesting his crops. Laws enacted for a class would react on that class, resulting in turbulence and violence. People could not obtain the money with which to pay their taxes. Shay headed a revolt in Massachusetts that for a time threatened to extend to the other States. We read that even George Washington was two years in arrears on his taxes through inability to sell what he had raised.

The States at that time were independent of each other. There was no such thing as the United States as we understand the term now. The late colonies were, it is true, loosely joined together by the Articles of Confederation—but this was a compact pure and simple, and created no governmental agency that had the power to enforce its recommendations. Conditions finally reached such a pass that Alexander Hamilton conferred with other constructive statesmen to bring about the convocation of a convention to strengthen the bond of union and grant coercive power to the central authority. Delegates were assembled to seek a remedy. The necessity of restraint of some kind was such that a new government—not a mere league such as had existed under the Articles of Confederation, but a government national in scope and representative of the people, a "government of checks and balances," as it has been aptly called, was formulated. Theretofore the legislatures of the States had dominated—thereafter State and National governments acted in restraint of each other, and the executive, the legislative and the judicial departments were mutually co-ordinate and yet independent.

The Constitution of 1789 was an instrument national in character and superseded in many respects the State governments. Part of the powers that had theretofore been exercised by the States was withdrawn and delegated to the new government then created. In some respects the States were paramount, and in others the United States. Both operated in the same territorial limits, but as

to different spheres. Each was sovereign in its sphere, and wherever they conflicted, the Constitution of the United States and the laws and treaties made in pursuance thereof were supreme. Power over peace and war and over matters international in character were taken from the States composing the Union and vested in the Federal government. They ordained that "no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex poste facto* law or law impairing the obligations of contracts, or grant any title of nobility;" that "no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts, or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."—Art. I., Sec. 10.

This instrument of government was submitted to the people themselves in convention assembled and by them adopted; and while it is true that these conventions were selected by the proper authority with reference to State lines, nevertheless the people themselves as the ultimate sovereigns acted. This fact is important and must be kept in mind in considering our form of government in any of its relations.

In the Preamble to the Constitution, the people declare the act of government. "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America." Every power in the instrument must be construed with reference to the purposes therein declared. In furtherance of these expressed objects, they "do ordain and establish" something definite, something permanent excepting in so far as it is thereafter changed by amendment or by a new delegation supplementing the powers delegated, something the limits and nature of which they specify. They had just gone through a period of stress and trouble due to lack of restraint; and they were seeking to create an agency so limited as to avoid repetition of the evils of

the prior period. They therefore created a government wherein they delegated certain powers to certain governmental agents named, and retained all other powers. If change should be found necessary, they, the ultimate sovereigns, should determine whether it should be made or not. The fundamental idea underlying it was the mutual restraint in government. There were three co-ordinate departments in mutual restraint of each other. They vested executive power in a President, legislative power in the Congress, and judicial power, excepting as to impeachment, in a Supreme Court and such inferior—not collateral or superior, but inferior—courts as the Congress may from time to time establish. The treaty-making power was vested in the President and Senate, and impeachment was to be tried by the Senate. These three departments, co-ordinate and mutually restrictive, constitute the government of the United States.

These are all the departments of government created. To these three departments, and to no other, the people have delegated all power they have seen fit to entrust to the Federal government. This definite thing, so created, must not be altered excepting as the people shall ordain. All powers not delegated to the one or the other of these departments are reserved to the States or to the people. Excepting in so far as exercised by the States, they are still within the sovereign undelegated rights and powers of the people. No redistribution can be had, no change in the fundamental theory made, excepting by the people themselves. No third government, whether it be in the form of a League of Nations or otherwise, could be incorporated in our system—for that would in effect subvert government as created by the people.

The government of the United States is a delegated government. "The judicial power in the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish."—Art. III., Sec. 2. "The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachment." There can be no Star Chamber created, nor ecclesiastical courts, no commissions, international or otherwise, to exercise judicial power excepting in conformity to these provisions relating to creation of courts inferior to the Supreme Court. Judicial power cannot be given to any body unless created by the Congress as a court inferior to the Supreme Court. Congress can create no court excepting in so far as the same be in accordance with the delegated authority. And no other body may create any other court under the Constitution.

"All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in the Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."—Art. I., Sec. 1. In Art. I., Sec. 8, of the Constitution is found the detail of legislative power granted.

It includes taxation for the payment of "the debts and to provide for the common defense and general welfare *of the United States,*" for borrowing money, regulating "commerce with foreign nations and among the several States with the Indian tribes," establishment of an uniform rule of naturalization and laws on the subject of bankruptcies "throughout the United States," coining money, constituting "tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court," defining and punishing piracies and felonies within certain limitations, declaring war, granting letters of marque and reprisal and making rules concerning captures on land and water, raising and supporting armies and providing and maintaining navies, making rules for the government and regulation of land and naval forces, providing for calling forth the militia under certain limitations and for their organization, arming and discipline, and other powers. These powers are vested in the legislative department. The people have in their sovereign capacity predetermined that these powers shall be exercised by the Congress so constituted. It is to the discretion of that Congress that they have entrusted these powers and *not to any other body unknown to the Constitution.*

"The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America."—Art. II., Sec. 1. His qualifications are prescribed, his term of office specified, his duties defined. "The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States when called into the active service of the United States. . . . He shall nominate and by and with the consent of the Senate shall appoint Ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for and which shall be established by law; and the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments." He has power to fill *ad interim* vacancies. He shall give to Congress information, recommend legislation, convene extra sessions of Congress, receive ambassadors, commission officers of the United States, and see that the law is faithfully executed. There is no other executive provided for, and all power of an executive character that the people have seen fit to delegate to the central authority is vested in the President of the United States. It cannot be transferred to any other executive without express sanction of the people.

Congress and other Federal officials are constitutional officers. They are mere creatures of the Constitution. They have no power except as therein prescribed. They have taken an oath to support and observe the Constitution and can act only in accordance with

the delegations of that instrument. They cannot legally do anything in conflict with it. They are created to carry on the government as it has been constituted by the people. They must not do anything that infringes on the fundamental idea of division of power as predetermined by the people—for that would be to destroy and not to uphold what they are sworn to observe.

In creating these departments, the people have created a trust for the purposes declared in the Preamble, with the limitations specified in the Constitution. They delegated certain authority to be by certain officers used for certain purposes. "The powers of government," says the Supreme Court of the United States,[9] "are delegated in trust to the United States and are incapable of transfer to other parties. They cannot be abandoned or surrendered. . . . The execution of these trusts is not the subject of barter or contract." Sovereign power has been vested in certain officers and sovereignty cannot be redelegated without express authorization from the principal, the American people.

A treaty must conform to the Constitution. It must not attempt to transfer sovereignty. It must not attempt to interfere with the execution by the Federal government or any department thereof, of powers necessary for them to function. It must not delegate any power of government, legislative, judicial or executive, to officials not known to the Constitution of the United States. It must not create an official or body of officials unknown to the Constitution and consisting partly of aliens and vest in them any power granted to the government of the United States. It must not infringe on the reserved or undelegated powers of government. It must not subordinate the discretion imposed on agencies created in accordance with the organic act of government to those not so instituted or those not recognized by that instrument. It must not delegate to a board of arbitrators or world legislature or world executive any power governmental in its nature—either authority to declare war or to make peace, to maintain an army and navy or command the same, to provide for the revenue of the like. It must not confer power over the government of the United States or any department thereof or over the States. It must not disturb the balance of power created by our institutions. And if it does, unless adopted by an amendment as provided in the Constitution, in a proper case, or assented to if supplemental and an additional grant of power as required by that instrument, the courts will declare it null and of no effect.

[9] Fue Yue Zing vs. U. S., 149 U. S. 698; Chae Chan Ping vs. U. S. 130 U. S. 581.

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ON PROGRESS

LIKE all vast generalizations, the idea of human progress and the conscious sense of a common civilization were a very slow movement built up gradually by partial enlightenment and fitfully seen by poets and thinkers in special manifestations.

During the past century progress has lain chiefly in the domain of the mechanical and material. The progress has been admirable, and has led to natural rejoicing and legitimate pride. It has also led to a supposition that all possible scientific advance lies in this same direction, or even that all the great fundamental discoveries have now been made! Discovery proceeds by stages, and enthusiasm at the acquisition of a step or a landing-place obscures for a time our perception of the flight of stairs immediately ahead.

The familiar question, familiar to Seneca and even earlier thinkers, is whether great communities and historic civilizations are subject to diseases similar to what senility is to man, and, like it, the precursor and cause of final dissolution. Some seem to think that certain races are incapable of advance beyond a certain point, but leave the reader in the presence of a variety of possible explanations of arrested development.

Through mere weariness of spirit, the community resigns itself to a contented stagnation; or it shatters itself in pursuit of impossible ideals, or, for other and obscurer reasons, flags in its endeavors and falls short of possible achievement. If history teaches anything, it teaches that times of high emotion and spiritual exaltation are followed, if not by an orgy of frivolity, at least by some relaxation of morals and some declension of conduct.

One novel hope, denied to past ages, is open to ours. In the modern alliance between pure science and industry, in the improvement in material conditions under which societies now live, and in the new relations to be established between the highest intellectual achievements and the wants of average humanity he sees a new and potent antiseptic against the causes of decadence in the past.

If progress be arrested, as presumably it must be, by the limitation of human faculty, we should expect the ultimate boundary to be capable of indefinite approach, and we should *not* expect that any part of the road towards it, once traversed, would have to be retraced. Even in the organic world, decay and death, familiar though they be, are phenomena that call for scientific explanation. And Weismann has definitely asked how it comes about that the higher organisms grow old and die, seeing that old age and death

are not inseparable characteristics of living protoplasm, and that the simplest organisms suffer no natural decay, perishing, when they do perish, by accident, starvation, or specific disease. The answer he gives to his own question is that the death of the individual is so useful to the race, that natural selection has, in all but the very lowest species, exterminated the potentially immortal. As matter cannot be divorced from gravity, so life cannot be dissociated from either its inheritance or its progress. Life is its own principle. Seek progress by casting aside tradition and progress is stayed; the life must sleep.

Investigation is laborious and unexciting; it takes years, and progress is slow; but in all regions of knowledge it is the method which in the long run has led towards truth; it is the method by which what we feel to be solid and substantial progress has always been made. In many departments of human knowledge this fact is admitted—though men of science have had to fight hard for their method before getting it generally recognized. In some departments it is still contested, and the arguments of Bacon in favor of free experimental inquiry are applicable to those subjects which are claimed as superior to scientific test. Still, all movement is, as movement, a real progress towards something. There is a distinction of real and apparent, or right and wrong progress, says Professor Cronin, "according as it is or is not progress towards the particular end which we wish to attain. The man who while intending to go east by mistake goes west, is not progressing truly. Hence, mere movement as such could not be the end of one who wishes to reach an end, since movement may not be true progress."

There can be no question as to the increase of organic complexity in the age-long course of the development of life on the globe. The advance has not been general or universal. There is still the amœba —but there is also man. Assuredly we have here an instance of continuous progress. Not that mere complexity in itself necessarily implies increase of real value. But the complexity does not stand alone; it has been accompanied by a concurrent development of psychical powers. It is debated, however, whether, in man's case, there is any further improvement in physique—strength, beauty, and the rest. Now suppose the decision to be in the negative—we then seek for the cause. And we find it in the influence of social relations. Civilization protects the physically unfit. Huxley went so far as to affirm that this elimination of "natural" selection amounted to a reversal of the cosmic process. Social relations, mark, are to the fore. But this same eliminating influence may reverse its action, and reintroduce selection in a new guise. The science of eugenics is even now coming to the birth. The diffi-

culties in its path are enormous; but there is ample time before it in which it may learn how to surmount them. And thus the fact (supposing it to be such) that there is an arrest of human physical development is seen to be of secondary importance. The real stress is on the social factor. The case of mental development is strictly parallel so far as brain-power is concerned. Have we advanced on the Cromagnon standard? He would be a bold man who would dogmatize; for we know too little about the Cromagnon race and too little about the brain.

"Civilization has throughout meant, and still means," writes Mr. Hyndman, "the degradation and embrutement of vast numbers of the men and women who exist under its social system. In the most highly civilized countries, in the greatest and richest of civilized cities, crowds of people pass their lives in wretchedness and misery, from which the higher barbarians shrink in disgust. So little has humanity as a whole thought of this, so natural and inevitable has the squalor and suffering of millions of human beings seemed to the ablest brains of each successive period of civilized life, that it has all been taken for granted, and no organized collective effort has yet been made to attain to a less deplorable form of human association. Nor, on looking back over the long records of history, does it appear possible that the intermediate stages of unconscious social evolution could ever have been overleaped. Certainly, the forcible revolts of outraged human nature against intolerable suffering almost invariably fail to secure improved conditions, or, where accidental success was achieved, it meant only that the victors placed the vanquished under the yoke from which they had freed themselves." Some love to dream of the universal republic—it has immense artistic attractions—the fiercely yelling crowd, the savage faces, the red caps, the terrible mænad women urging the brawny ruffians on to shed more blood, the lurid light of burning churches, the pale and trembling victims dragged beneath the poised knife—ah, it is superb, it has stupendous artistic capabilities!

Modern democracy and the poverty of St. Francis differ by the whole of heaven. The love of God and the desire for union with Him is not the guiding principle of modern democracy, nor are the many schemes of official poor relief inspired with the desire to serve Christ in serving His members. The modern democrat does not propose to renounce money; he intends to gain more of it under his reformed political system. He does not propose to live upon crusts and scraps; he intends to have his luxuries and necessities at a considerably reduced rate. He does not propose to help and elevate the poor because he sees in them the representatives of His

Master, but because if so elevated they may become useful and reputable members of society, will be happy, prosperous citizens of a great empire, and will be less of a burden on the race. We are not saying that he is not perfectly right, only he is not thereby a Friar Minor inchoate.

The "good life" of pagan tradition, the vital ecstasy of the Christian spirit, in so far as it is to-day attainable from its many and varied civic sources, issues from springs of renewal and inspiration, not so long ago united in the cloister, but nowadays trickling in the more or less isolated streams we call Drama, Music, Art, Literature, Poetry, Architecture and the like. Each of these streams singly pursues its own independent course, flushing, to be sure, many a soul with the waters of ecstasy. But something is lacking, as must be evident from the restless pursuit of emotional variety. What lacks is the power to compose fragmentary dreams into unity of design and to transform this into the deeds that express personality in full communion with society. The problem and the task, in which our "intellectuals" and our creative artists have so far respectively failed, is to build up a framework of thought and compose an orchestra of feeling in which all the scattered and disunited elements of the broken cloister may take their place and do their proper work.

If now the State ceases to protect rights, it will not hold together. The binding cement has crumbled. Once there are classes denied their rights, threatened with death though innocent, they will ask themselves (as they would have asked when first the State was formed): "Why should I belong to a society which does not give me my rights? I will fight for my own hand. I have at least the same rights here as I would have on a desert island; and if these people are banded together to destroy me who have done no wrong, I will fight first." And they will be right. Once the State begins attacking the rights of its members, it can give no reason for its own existence. Its argument to the victim is: "We are a gang of murderers; you are a member of the gang; come quietly and be killed."

We may have driven firm piles in that morass into which past civilizations have constantly relapsed. The last of the barbarian invasions may be over; our scientific fabric may not, within thinkable time, collapse; the ordered progress of the Victorian vision may be ahead and may last through aeons. But even so—and it is a large postulate—the vessel's wake cannot indefinitely be kept in sight. There will be a horizon to each age, beyond which the knowledge and interest of details far behind will fade. They will have new Shakespeares and new Spencers; our sonnets will have gone

like our marble and the gilded monuments of our princes, beyond the range even of archæologists. And in the end what prospect does reason, working on the supposed facts that are now provided her, offer? A cooling and a disappearance. A void and frozen world circling in space, and a watching moon that has outlasted all mortal fames and seen the ultimate Shakespeare pass and die, leaving no more permanent trace than Hodge at his plough or the slaves that worked on the Pyramids. We know all that, yet knowing it makes no difference. For fame after death, however uncertain and however perishable, men will work, starve, and bear with cheerfulness the neglect of their contemporaries.

For some, nothing that mankind has ever done has been right. All history shows (an expression which Leslie Stephen once said was equivalent to "I choose to take for granted") that the "degradation and embitterments of vast numbers of men and women" is the invariable accompaniment of every stage of civilization; or rather of nearly every stage. War and competition, potent instruments of selection and evolution in one epoch, become ruinous instruments of degradation in the next. The man who has only one prescription to offer, who, for instance, always preaches action and energy, or always rest and quietness, always liberty or always discipline—has an insufficient conception of the largeness of life. Truth is a globe, and he only sees one side of it, and always the same side. We, tossed about by circumstances as we are, see now one side, now another, and want the right word for each. Only genius can say it, for only genius, not driven by circumstance, but in the exercise of its own free activity, has seen all the sides of the truth's round and built up a wisdom including them all.

Now experience is the contact with reality. Concrete events and personal facts chiefly concern us, since they make us what we are. The general ideas and cosmic conceptions of science are but pictures and symbols of reality, useful in their way as special, hampering us if we do not outstep them, as indeed we do and must in the daily business of life. Physiology has its range of experience, and psychology overlaps it. And both have their postulates, not to be proved by their own data, opening out into metaphysical considerations. There will always be an illusion of progress, because wherever we are conscious of an evil we remedy it, and therefore always seem to ourselves to be progressing, forgetting that most of the evils we see are the effects of long-continued retrogression.

Our experience, which is ever pointing us beyond its immediate form, is only explicable on the footing that we are more than we take ourselves to be. Otherwise we could not know. I am not merely object for knowledge but subject also. These appear to

be aspects only distinguished within a greater entirety. When I ask what this entirety is I find it is no particular object or set of objects. It cannot be a substance; it can only be mind within which the notion of substance arises only as one due to itself, a distinction or category which its activity has established. The harmony and soundness of society depend upon its inner unity of mind. Social organization does not mean only an external fitting together, but an internal equality of mind. Society profits from contrasting views.

The power of the crowd over its members is sufficiently explained by the principle of "primitive sympathy," the principle, namely, that "in man and in the gregarious animals generally each instinct, with its characteristic primary emotion and specific impulse, is capable of being excited in one individual by the expressions of the same emotion in another, in virtue of a special congenital adaptation of the instinct on its cognitive or perceptual side." In an organized group as distinct from a crowd, on the other hand, collective action is the fruit of collective volition; it is action willed by the members of the group from a consciousness of their solidarity with the group.

The leading civilizations are threatened at the present moment with a serious deterioration in quality due to the increasing tendancy among them to breed from the inferior stocks. In the higher social strata formed and maintained by social and economic competition the economic stress is now so great as to discourage large families; at the same time the weakening of religious and customary sanctions owing to free speculation increases the unwillingness of these classes to undertake burdens opposed to the pleasure and welfare of the individual. Meanwhile, the "social ladder" has been so perfected in this democratic epoch that the more intelligent and strenuous elements in the lower strata mount swiftly to the summit, where they are drained off by the prevailing infertility. Nor is it to be forgotten that the growth of humanitarian ideas and social reform tend "to consummate by social organization the abolition of natural selection; that is to say, these changes are putting a stop to the repression by natural laws of the multiplication of the less fit, those least well endowed mentally and physically. The fact that the road to ruin is paved with so much comfort that the travelers themselves have forgotten where it leads and see a rose-garden, whereas outsiders see an abyss is due to the make-believe of a revolutionary bureaucracy.

The greatest and most determined of wars has just been dealing terrific blows to the civilization in which the theory of progress has been built up. It needs a well-founded faith to resist depression

when one tries all in vain to realize the loss of brilliant life, the vast destruction, the crushing weight of debt, the legacy of hate. Modern civilization was wrecked on the fire-blasted fields, though they led to what we called "victory." More died there than the flower of youth and German manhood. The old order of the world died there, because many men who came alive out of that conflict were changed, and vowed not to tolerate a system of thought which had led up to such a monstrous massacre of human beings who prayed to the same God, loved the same joys of life, and had no hatred of each other except as it had been lighted and inflamed by their governors, their philosophers, and their newspapers.

The roots of war are deep-spread in the foundations of human society, with its national suspicions, individual and class greeds, and distrust in Christian charity. The only hope is in a change of heart, which will enable all classes to combine under leaders of unselfish purpose and fine vision, who will give us a new order combining the virtue of patriotism with a generous spirit to other peoples across the old frontiers of hate.

> They marched—and each, where every man was bold
> Sought to be keenest and surprise his mate.
> So must their joyous souls in rivalry
> Have raced the heroes' road to Heaven's gate.
> They laughed, but laughing well the fate they knew
> Of those who in that royal humor run
> To the assault as to a game. They drew
> On their white gloves, as though the enemy gun
> Had been a bride, and like a bridegroom flew
> Each to encounter that fierce kiss that lies
> Now on their crushed and ever-darkened eyes.

It seems obviously of the most supreme importance, if the world's civilization is to be saved from destruction, that in the future the great moral principles should be universally recognized by civilized nations. They should be upheld and maintained by every means possible, and for this there is not only required a sacred league of all Christian peoples, to enforce them by arms if necessary, but the association with those of the supreme moral authority, recognized as such by the world and able to speak to its subjects in every Christian nation.

Ever since the Reformation had destroyed the Christian basis of civilization, and Christendom had been torn in two by that irreparable disaster, the problem has had to be confronted as to what kind of basis society could be built upon. The gospel of the French Revolution was the idea that you could build a society without theological sanction, upon the self-evidence of human rights. Jefferson laid that down as the basis of the great American Re-

public. Both Robespierre and Jefferson assumed the being of God. There was in Europe in the generation which preceded the French Revolution, a man who founded a State upon the denial of God and all that was implied in the existence of God. That man was Frederick the Great. The fact that he subsequently made Catholic allies, and that his State was supported by Catholic nations, proved nothing except that Catholics, like everybody else, could be blinded to the real obligations of their faith by all sorts of temporal necessities. The wealth of our inheritance is not measured by our successes, nor, we may hope, are the possibilities of progress encompassed by the poverty of our poor ideas as to what progress implies.

And if Christianity is, as it must be, the reproduction of the life of Christ, it, too, must expect to rejoice as Christ rejoiced, and to be troubled as Christ was troubled. For Christianity is not, as we are so often told, a set of rules; nor is it merely a set of principles—though that it is. Christianity is the reproduction of the life of Christ. This is the real test. Look at Christ and look at Christianity, and ask: Do the colors match? If they do, we shall expect to find the same two-sided vision as we saw in the face of Christ. And we find it. Looked at from the angle of vision it, too, is winning, drawing, attractive; there is nothing, literally nothing, like it. Looked at from another point of view, it is despised and rejected; it, too, is like "a dead man out of mind." The colors match.

Conspectuses of history are in the air just now. Mr. Wells has put his masterpiece into the form of an outline of the world's history. Mr. Chesterton, having taken the Cross and followed Godfrey of Bouillon to Jerusalem, has come home in a historic ecstasy. Mr. Belloc urges the view of history that the Vatican would urge if the Vatican were as enlightened and as free as Mr. Belloc. And all this at a moment when the threatened dissolution of European civilization is forcing us to turn in desperation to history and social theory for counsel and guidance.

When we look into the inner spirit and meaning of civilization, we see at once how many kinds there are. What will satisfy one group of people or nation will never satisfy another: as the occupants of each can live entirely apart from the others, it is clear that each are not really essentials of civilization. And to understand what things are really essential we must see what then is common to all of them, however different their externals may be. Justice, security and toleration are the necessary requisites. Of course it is not every one who can apply principles to practice, nor is it easy to refer to abstract ideas in concrete emergencies. "When we look at

the various civilizations," says Professor Flinders Petrie, "which there have been, there is perhaps no one moral law or table which is not absent from some of them. It is open to a people to live their lives on moral tables without civilization, or on civilization without moral tables. Either frame is one-sided." The acquisition of fresh knowledge is a function of only a very small part of any community. One in ten thousand is really all that our civilization depends upon. The rest are copyists, the best stimulated to some new ideas by example, the worst entirely creatures of habit who cannot do anything but that they are taught. "Does any man seriously believe," says Bernard Shaw, "that the *chauffeur* who drives a motor car is a more highly evolved man than the charioteer of Achilles, or that a modern Prime Minister is a more enlightened ruler than Carson because he rides a bicycle, writes his dispatches by electric light, and instructs his stock broker through the telephone?" When we note that all the gain by invention has passed within a generation into increases of wage and conditions to the hand-workers, the loss of inventive ability will be reflected in stagnation of the general conditions of all. It is the first step in decivilization.

Landor, in one of his "Conversations," makes Machiavelli say that "democracies have enemies in most of the rich, in more of the timorous, and nearly in all the wise." This always has been true, and still is: must it always remain so? Monarchies and aristocracies have commonly died of the worship of an inequality false to nature; and of forgetting that change is of the essence of life. Democracies have died, even more surely and much more quickly, of the opposite things, of the worship of an equality as false as the inequality of the others, and of forgetting that the present is rooted in the past and dies if it be plucked away from its roots. If the democracies of Europe are to be saved and to build the new world, they must work out their salvation as much by their political justice, temperance and teachableness as by their tenderness to the weak, their faith in humanity, and their hope for a better and more generous order. But what do we mean by an event? The rise of seven degrees of the thermometer? The loss of a five-pound note? The death of Napoleon? To the physiologist the phrase only means that a certain organism has ceased to respond to the stimuli of its surroundings. No, the event is nothing less than a certain physical fact plus all the human feelings that led up to it, and all the human feelings that flowed from it.

The belief in the human event of progress is now so intimately blended with both public and private ethics and is so generally assumed in every call to social action, that few recognize how late

is its development. It is, indeed, generally known that our remote ancestors placed the golden age in the past, and not in the future, that the Greeks aimed at perfect balance rather than continued development, and that one at least of the great religions of the world—and that the one long supreme and undisputed in the West—postulated the corruption of human nature. We seem to have arrived at a time when it has become clear that social, ethical and philosophical speculations will have to take history into account. Herbert Spencer brushed aside the historical record of man as a thing of no importance. Rome, France, Germany, Egypt had nothing to teach him. What mattered was the principles of biological evolution. Karl Marx, too, either neglected history, or noticed only such points as illustrated his theories. Canoste alone studied its importance. It was the growth of modern science—recognized in the famous aphorism of Pascal—that first brought the conception into vogue; but though in strict logic progress in any one department of life meant progress throughout, unless there was a corresponding retrogression elsewhere, several conditions were necessary before the belief could become generally valid. Now, looking back, we are inclined to think that these conditions were not only necessary to the acceptance of progress as an aim, but actually involved its recognition. As long as men were assured that human affairs were directly regulated by an omnipotent Providence, and that without the aid of that Power human nature was hopelessly corrupt, even a belief in progress must occupy an unimportant place as a stimulus to human action. Nor could the bare fact that our actions affected those about us, or those who would succeed us, arouse our devotion. The unity of the human race, the continuous life of mankind from age to age, gradually recognized, only became a possible substitute for ancient beliefs when men began confidently to look forward to a future ever growing happier and more glorious than the past.

In particular, philosophic materialism does not prove that economic causes are fundamental in politics. The view of Buckle, for example, according to which climate is one of the decisive factors, is equally compatible with materialism. So is the Freudian view, which traces everything to sex. There are innumerable ways of viewing history which are materialistic in the philosophic sense without being economic or falling within the Marxian formula. Thus the "materialistic conception of history" may be false even if materialism in the philosophic sense should be true.

On the other hand, economic causes might be at the bottom of all political events even if philosophic materialism were false. Economic causes operate through men's desires for possessions, and

would be supreme if this desire were supreme, even if desire could not, from a philosophic point of view, be explained in materialistic terms.

To understand completely the history of an age must we know and understand the history of its art? It seems so. And yet the idea is intolerable to scientific historians. What becomes of the great scientific principle of water-tight compartments? Again, it is unjust; for assuredly, to understand art we need know nothing whatever about history. It may be that from works of art we can draw inferences as to the sort of people who made them: but the longest and most intimate conversations with an artist will not tell us whether his pictures are good or bad.

But we have changed all that. There is now a general appeal to history and each appellant is sure that he has secured the Elia verdict. Mr. Penty supports his doctrine of guild socialism as a wide survey of the centuries. Mr. Bernard Shaw is reported to be about to deal with the history of man in dramatic form. Mr. Wells has given us his views of creation and evolution, of prehistoric and historic man, and Mr. Chesterton has written a history in the interest of religion and politics with amazing agility of mind.

The great majority of educated persons hold the opinion that our wonderful discoveries and inventions in every department of art and science prove that we are really more intellectual and wiser than the men of past ages, that our mental faculties have increased in power. But, wrote Alfred Russell Wallace in 1913, "this idea is totally unfounded. We are the inheritors of the accumulated knowledge of all the ages; and it is quite possible and even probable, that the earliest steps taken in the accumulation of this vast mental treasury required even more thought and a higher intellectual power than any of those taken in our own era."

On the other hand, there is nothing to suggest that the modern rate of progress will rule. Civilizations are no longer encircled by waves of barbarism that may destroy them, and if the lethargy of prosperity or sluggishness of administrative machinery destroy some they can now be replaced by a power that is more efficient as well as more rigorous. The imagination of the race is hit. Yet still the vast burden of armaments, taken together with the pious declarations in favor of peace, must be held to show an almost total absence of morality is a guiding principle among the governing classes. We conclude with the following words of Wallace, which he printed in italics:

Taking account of (the) various groups of undoubted facts, many of which are so gross, so terrible, that they cannot be over-

stated, it is not too much to say that our whole system of society is rotten from top to bottom, and the social environment as a whole, in relation to our possibilities and claims, is the worst that the world has ever seen. If we may believe Edward Carpenter, for the first time in history civilization is now practically continuous over the globe, now also for the first time we can descry forming in continuous line *within its very structure* the forces which are destined to destroy it and to bring about the new order.

The complete story of human progress is the story of ideal conception and of endeavor, and the unfailing realization of ideals in the growth of human beings with ideals uplifted and enlarged, while now it seems to be the breaking of chains and the casting off of the idea of authority. From the day that the first skin was made into a garment, the first flint shaped into an arrow-head, the first crooked stick to scratch the ground, to this age of silks, Maxim guns and electric ploughs, the victory of mind over matter has gone on progressing; for on that day the law of natural selection was vanquished: man burst the bonds in which nature was bound and asserted his freedom. Evolution is continuous, orderly change; but it is only when we regard the stream of life as a whole without fixing our attention on the pool-like tracts, that general progress is appreciable.

The drawbacks of progress are either temporary evils or permanent losses. To the first class belong all the painful effects of friction in the social machine. Change in ideas, in customs, in political institutions, always means, for a certain number and for a time, a painful sense of rupture with familiar surroundings, a feeling of strangeness and insecurity, not to speak of the grief which comes from the conviction that a trusted source of joy has proved itself to be illusory. There is no doubt that these evils are real and ought not to be lightly estimated. Yet a wise man is not likely to regard them as making the advantages of progress doubtful. Social change only takes place when the masses are ready for it, and approve of it; so that it is, after all, the minority only who suffer. But this is not all. One may reasonably urge that this evil of change is something which can be greatly reduced by the introduction of a different style of education, intellectual and moral. If men's minds were from the first familiarized with the idea of the constant flux of things, if their horizons were widened, and the partial and limited nature of their religious and other ideas made clear to them, they might be better trained to adapt themselves to the necessities of progress, and even cordially to concur in them.

Again, if we turn to the positive evils attributed to progress, we shall see reason to temper our despondency. It is worth observing that many ills supposed to be incidents of civilization are but changed forms of ancient evils. We know so little respecting the social condition of past ages, that it is often impossible to say whether some present burden has not been handed down, so to speak, from far-off times. Thus, to judge of the significance of the bodily disease and the crime which characterize our modern civilization, it would be necessary to know something definite respecting the proportions of disease and crime in primitive modes of society; but this knowledge is inaccessible.

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THE PROBLEM OF REUNION IN EASTERN CHRISTENDOM.

IN a most valuable contribution to the *Stimmen der Zeit* (December, 1920), Father Henry Sierp, S. J., pointed out the great importance of the discussions between Orthodox and Anglicans in the Preliminary Meeting of the World Conference on Faith and Order (Geneva, August 12-20, 1920).

"In order to express an opinion on the recent attempt at reunion initiated by the Anglican churches, it is necessary to have a clear notion of the fundamental forces and processes of thought that have paved the way. The earliest impulse towards those attempts sprang from the *catholicizing* tendencies in the very bosom of the Anglican Church. They were brought to light in the second half of the nineteenth century, and took more definite shape following the *Tractarian* movement, and a deeper acquaintance with the conditions of the Church in the pre-Reformation age. The study of that period is closely connected with the above-mentioned tendencies. It throws into relief the fact that for a long interval of fifteen centuries of ecclesiastical history, more attention and a greater importance were given to the unity and authority of the visible Church of Christ than in the time of the Reformation. More than once the fact had been realized by the Episcopalian Church before the Oxford movement. The dull ecclesiology of Protestantism had been replaced by a system resting mostly on the Fathers of the Church and the old theology, and therefore nearer to the Catholic concept. The differences within Christianity, upon which Protestants looked as necessary results of living Christian thought, grieved Anglican circles, for they were in direct contradiction to the prayer of the Redeemer: *That all may be one.* On the one side, the constant orientation of many prominent members of the Anglican Church towards Rome, and, on the other, her dying influence over the great masses of the people, who were turning to the Free Churches, had convinced her leaders that some means had to be contrived in order to arrest the inward dissolution of Protestantism. The awakening of the thought of reunion appeared as the wisest means, the more so as not only among Anglican theologians, but even among the Dissenters, the conviction was growing that the numerous and often superficial divergences thwarted the spreading of Christianity in pagan lands. The bankruptcy of modern civilization, particularly during the war, and the thirst after absolute unity so as to avoid the complete ruin of mankind, have aroused or enlivened the aspirations

towards a united Christianity. Large numbers now perceive that the Church of Christ, bleeding from thousands of wounds, is powerless to achieve the salvation of the human race."[1]

According to Father Sierp, the offspring of those aspirations and processes of thought, is the so-called World Conference on Faith and Order, appealing to all the Christian churches and denominations.

"Among its results we recall the rapprochement of several Christian denominations, the courteous and peaceful discussions of the representatives of Christian churches on the problems of reunion, the awakening of minds to the dangers that face Christianity, if the further subdivision of its already scattered masses continues. The organizers of the World Conference have stirred yearnings for reunion within the very heart of Protestantism, as well as the consciousness of the evils that from the inner conflicts of Christianity have resulted to the preaching of the Christian faith. Their policy, in summoning to the Conference only believers in the divinity of Jesus Christ, is praiseworthy. The limitation is wise, and testifies to the serious purposes of the pioneers of the movement. We must acknowledge the nobility of the motives that prompted them. We are convinced that unity will be reached if those motives inspire the members of the future World Conference, and make them free from preconceived opinions."[2]

The most eventful episode of the Preliminary Meeting of Geneva was the official participation of the Eastern Churches in its sessions. For the first time, after centuries of isolation, they came in contact with the Anglican churches and the Protestant denominations and labored with them on the problem of the restoration of Christianity. Orthodox conservatism and Protestant radicalism exchanged courtesies, and in defining their respective doctrinal positions, refrained from the use of poisoned shafts of controversy. Cordiality was the keynote of the discussions of the meeting: *Ein sehr freundlicher Ton beherrschte die Verhandlungen.*[3]

All the Eastern churches, with the sole exception of the Patriarchate of Antioch, had sent their delegates. The Orthodox churches of the Greek lineage were represented by seven Bishops, monks and laymen; while other Bishops, priests and laymen represented the Russian, Rumanian, Serbian, and Bulgarian churches. The pres-

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[1] Unionsbestrebungen bei Protestanten, Stimmen der Zeit, 1920 (Dec.), pp. 184-185.
[2] Ibid., p. 191.
[3] Ibid., p. 198.

ence of the Bulgarian delegates disturbed at first the Greeks. It is well known that by a decree issued by the Synod held in Constantinople on September 28, 1871, the Bulgarians were anathematized and rejected from the Orthodox Church as guilty of anticanonical nationalism. The Churches of Slavic lineage did not share the views of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and have treated the Bulgarians as genuinely Orthodox. The Greek Church, however, has stood firm by its decision, and accordingly the situation of its representatives in the meeting of Geneva was an awkward one. The difficulty was removed by Hamilcar Alivisatos, a lay professor of Canon Law in the University of Athens, who said the tiff between Greeks and Bulgarians was of a political character, and that in the presence of Western Christianity, it was desirable to exhibit the Orthodox Churches as a compact body. The Bulgarians had not failed in their profession of the unaltered dogmas of the Eastern Churches. They were schismatics because of their insubordination to the Patriarch of Constantinople, but their political revolt did not extend to the articles of faith. Hence it followed that as a matter of expediency their intercourse with the delegates of the other Orthodox churches was permissible.

The arguments of Alivisatos won over the other delegates of the Greek Orthodox churches, and thus, at least for several days, *theological* intercommunion between Greeks and Bulgarians was revived.

The most important document on the relations between the Eastern and the Anglican churches at the meeting of Geneva is the report issued by the three delegates of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria (Egypt); Polyeucte Kyriakides, Archbishop of Pelusium; Nicholas Evangelides, Archbishop of Nubia, and Professor Emmanuel Loukaras. It was inserted in the *Pantainos,* the official organ of the Patriarchate. The document gives us an idea of the conditions under which an understanding among the churches is possible. We say "an understanding," for several times the Eastern churches have declared that the reunion of Christianity is a problem the solution of which belongs to a far-distant future.

On the one side the divergences among churches are considerable. The Eastern church could not make concessions without the decision of an Œcumenical Council. The steadfastness of the Greek Church to its traditions or liturgical usages is so undeviating that even for the authorization of the Western practice of conferring the

Sacrament of Confirmation considerably subsequent to, rather than immediately after, that of Baptism. Meletios, the former Metropolitan of Athens, has insisted upon the convocation of an Œcumenical Council. On the other hand, the general tendency of the Eastern churches is to aim at the preservation of their own autonomies, their liturgical peculiarities, their special points of doctrine. They are burdened with an inheritance which shows the stamp of centuries of polemics, at times of persecutions, of national struggles, of intellectual effort, of sad or glorious recollections, and it would be a great sacrifice for them to renounce a large part of the legacy of their ancestors. Thus think the Orthodox churches.

As a first step toward the reunion of Christianity, the Eastern hierarchy supports a league of the churches. The word and the idea have been suggested by the unfortunate League of Nations which, after so many dithyrambic praises of its inspirers and organizers, seems to be choked with sand. Before the war, the Patriarchal Synod of Constantinople was about to launch the idea of a League of the Churches, and to send an invitation even to the Pope, in the hope that he might endorse it. They were prevented, however, by the Preparatory Commission of the World Conference, which in 1918, sent a deputation to Constantinople inviting the Patriarch to attend, either in person or by his delegates, the Preliminary Meeting of Geneva. The answer of the Patriarchal Synod was favorable to the participation of the Eastern churches in the movement of the World Conference, and their delegates submitted to the Geneva meeting the orthodox plan of the League of the Churches. This embraces the following principles:

A League of the Churches to be established under these conditions:

1. The total abolition of religious proselytism among the Christian churches, and a friendly coöperation in the field of missions among infidels.

2. Christian solidiarity and mutual love among Christian churches.

3. Alliance and coöperation of the churches for the revival and triumph of the principles of the Christian faith, and the successful struggle with any system opposing them.

4. Reciprocal study of the principles of the several churches.

5. Consolidation of smaller related religious denominations by mutual understanding and outward rapprochement so as to form great Christian families or groups.

6. Reunion of the churches in faith and order, as the final purpose of the League.

That the League may be organized and act for the attainment of its end, the delegates of the Eastern churches proposed:

1. The appointment of a Permanent Commission of the Churches.

2. The institution of a special commission in each of the churches that participate in the League. The special commissions would work together with the central commission to reach the same goal.

3. The foundation of a special organ of the League of the Churches.

4. The periodical convocations of general meetings with the same purpose.

5. The fixing of the date and place of convocation of the World Conference.

The proposals of this plan of reunion, or League of the Churches, were explained in detail by Professor Alivisatos. His speech at the meeting of Geneva affords some glimpses into the psychological position of the Eastern churches in face of the problem of reunion.

It starts with a definition of the Orthodox Churches:

"Under the name of the Orthodox Church, we designate the aggregate of the various autonomous churches, namely of the Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Russia; the archbishoprics of Cyprus, and Sinai; the Metropolitan Sees of Greece, Serbia, Rumania, Georgia, and even Bulgaria. The members of these churches are to be found not only in their own respective countries, but in many lands of Europe and America and other continents. They amount to one hundred and thirty million souls. All these churches form the one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. Each of them is an autonomous administrative unit. All together, however, they form an undivided and unique body, and in their mutual distinction they maintain the unity of the churches as it was in the earliest centuries of Christianity. The Orthodox Church, comprising the aggregate of all the above mentioned churches, rests on the faith handed down to us by our Lord, his Apostles and their successors. Her doctrine is based on two sources: Holy Writ and Apostolic Tradition. It continues as it was developed by the great fathers and doctors of the Church in the Œcumenical Councils. Its administration and external organization are based on the democratic principles on which the church rested in the age of the Apostles. In its most important parts, its worship remains the same as

during the golden centuries of the history of the Christian Church. Its liturgy is that of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil. The Greek Church reads the New Testament in the original and uses it in its worship. She has permitted the several nations to which she gave Christianity, to use their own languages in their worship, and furthermore, she has created a new language when that was necessary. History knows all the services rendered by the Orthodox Church to the spreading and development of the Christian faith. Well-known are her struggles against Mohammedanism and the other enemies of Christianity. It is needless to recall the blood of her martyrs, shed through centuries, and even now in the Orthodox countries. But in spite of all persecutions, the much oppressed Church of the East has sheltered the Orthodox faith.

"Down to the ninth century, the Western Church was linked to the Orthodox Church, by the bond of a common faith and as an autonomous body. But her well-known doctrinal novelties gave rise to the sad division of the one and undivided Christianity. Yet the Orthodox Church has never ceased to pray and implore God for the restoration of friendly relations with the Western Church, and for her reunion with the Protestant Churches. She was always animated by a spirit of reconciliation and mutual love. The sincerity of her efforts for the realization of Christian unity is shown by her relations with the Old Catholics and the Anglican Churches of England and America. The same spirit prompted her to accept the invitation to the World Conference."

The League of the Churches, from the Orthodox point of view, is the providential institution for the healing of the wounds of disunion. According to the Greek champion of the League, it is well to talk about reunion, but it is well also to reflect on the spirit that characterized the relations between the churches after their lamentable separation. It was a spirit of mutual indifference, still worse—a spirit of inveterate hostility.

"How, then, could we revive Christian unity, if we refuse to be acquainted with each other, if we ignore the life of each other?"

Hence it follows that the first step towards reunion consists in ending the ignorance which dims the vision of the ideal of Christian unity.

According to the Greek theologians, the plague of Christianity is the religious propaganda carried on by the churches, at their mutual expense. Proselytism is the great and irreconcilable foe of reunion!

> "It is known that many churches, following the suggestions of their egotism, and looking upon their sister churches as doomed to eternal damnation, leave no stone unturned to attract them into their own orbits. The Orthodox Church, on the contrary, has always refrained from proselytizing, and the same line of conduct will be followed by her in the coming days. She is even ready to lend a helping hand to the other churches that endeavor to enlighten the infidels, while regretting that she is not in a condition to perform on her own part work of a like nature. Why could not the other churches adopt the same views, and enter into the same engagement? . . . Could not the World Conference deter them from religious propaganda? . . . . The cause of reunion would reap great benefit if the churches were to agree on this point."

The writer feels that the Eastern churches, particularly those of Greek origin, exaggerate the evil of Protestant proselytism. A few of the missionaries sent to the Eastern countries by the American Mission Board—such as for instance, Rev. Jonas King, a Congregationalist minister—have indeed stirred up violent polemics, but their harvest has been extremely poor.

So far as relates to the Anglican Churches, their delegates pledged themselves to abstain from any attempt

> "to induce individual members of the Orthodox Eastern Church to leave their own communion. If some be dissatisfied with its teaching or usages and find a lack of spiritual life in its worship, they should be advised not to leave the church of their baptism, but by remaining in it to endeavor to become centres of life and light to their own people; more especially as the Orthodox Eastern Church has never committed itself to any theory that would make it impossible to reconsider and revise its standard and practice."

More than once the General Conventions of the American Episcopal Churches have resolutely condemned attempts to sow the seeds of Protestantism among the Orthodox flocks.

While theoretically aiming at reunion, the Eastern churches are in fact determined to keep a wall of division between them and the Western churches. The fear of a religious propaganda is so great that according to Meletios, formerly metropolitan of Athens, theologically the baptism conferred either by Latin or by Anglicans is valid: to oppose, however, proselytism on the part of them both, the Greek Orthodox Church considers it invalid, and requires that converts from the Catholic Church and Protestant denominations be rebaptized. The proposed League of Churches does not limit

itself to the discontinuance of religious propaganda by Christians among Christians. Reunion must be preceded by a return to the early spirit of Christian friendship. While the spirit of indifference may fade and disappear, the churches, in the opinion of the Orthodox champions of the League, need to break the ice of the old feud and throw themselves into each other's arms. They have a formidable task to achieve in joining their separate energies. The vital principles of the Christian faith are weakened or rejected. The duty of all the Christian churches is to face the foes of Divine Revelation and their destructive systems. Coöperation of the churches is the basic foundation of the social revival of Christianity. The churches must all raise their voices when a part of the Christian world is bleeding to death, or sinking in the throes of persecution. Greeks and Armenians have been slaughtered, by hundreds of thousands, and no word of sympathy or commiseration was uttered by the other churches. Crimes, like those of the massacres of the Eastern Christians, are to be denounced and execrated by all Christians without any distinction of creeds. There are also the serious social problems of Bolshevism, alcoholism and the like which require, for their happy solution, the combined efforts of all Christianity. Social coöperation of the churches will therefore open the way to a better understanding of their leaders in the field of dogmatic divergences.

In the meeting of Geneva, the delegates of the Eastern churches left no doubt as to the unmistakable conditions of that understanding. The League of the Churches was intended to work within the limits marked off by Apostolic tradition for the ceaseless attempts of human thought to get a clearer glimpse of divine wisdom. The reunion of the churches requires a return to the ancient beliefs rather than a hare-brained adhesion to new and unsound systems. The ancient creed of the Christian faith, a creed cemented with the blood of the martyrs and the divinely inspired sanction of the Œcumenical Councils, will remain unshaken. It is the centre, the beacon light of Christian unity. This was pointed out by a learned Greek theologian in the same meeting of Geneva.

> "The younger churches of Europe and America," said Archimandrite Chrysostom Pappadopoulos, "in dealing with the divergences among Christians, lose sight of the historic past of Christianity and discuss logic according to their own personal views. They neglect to glance at the results of Christian speculation in the primitive church. The necessity of a creed in the unified church calls for no testimony. Without a creed the unity of the faithful,

in the same faith, would be a myth. The creed is the voice of the Church. It contains the essential truths of Holy Scripture and tradition, the truths to which all the faithful are bound to adhere. Attempts to throw light upon the contents of the creed cannot be fruitful unless they start from the foundation of Holy Scripture and tradition. For the solution of the theological problems connected with the reunion of Christianity, we need to restore the theological method of Origen. Syllogisms and heated wranglings will leave things as they are. Let us explore the boundless field of Holy Scripture and tradition, with the firm purpose of gathering from the Church the divine truth and solving with its help the problems in whose solution we are interested."

These stern words of the Greek theologian were a direct retort to Protestant rationalism, which in the Geneva gathering, took shape in an aggressive onslaught on the creeds of Christian antiquity.

"The Creeds," said Professor Charles Anderson Scott, of the Presbyterian Church of England, "are a record of the thought of the church at some particular period. They purport to be based on the combined witness of Scripture and of the Holy Spirit. One of them, the Apostles' Creed, represents the slow accretion of two or three centuries. The Nicene represents the dominant faith as it orientated itself over against a lower form of Christianity. The only thing that is wrong about the credal expression of the church's past is that it stopped changing. By proclaiming the irreformability of the creed, the mediæval Church, *and every church which does the same,* does in practice, impair, if not deny, the work of the Holy Spirit."[4]

Needless to say that statements like the foregoing would mean the immediate withdrawal of the Eastern churches from any kind of doctrinal understanding whatsoever, not with the Anglican churches, but with the Protestant denominations. The consciousness of the absolute impossibility of finding a common ground with the churches with which she was brought into relation in the meeting of Geneva, seems to have confirmed the Orthodox Church in the plan of a League of Churches. By leaving untouched the theological problems of reunion, the churches could foster among themselves feelings of mutual friendship, and be of use to each other in social work. The plans are indeed worthy of consideration and sympathy, but they will not in the slightest degree promote the solution of the problem of reunion.

[4] T. Davidson: "The Five Lambeth Conferences." London, 1920, pp. 168-169.

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INITIATION.

MAN grows and comes to maturity slowly and by degrees. There are certain well-defined stages in his growth. We may consider the first stage as ending when he ceases to be a baby. He can now walk, run and play with other children. He is not carried about by his mother or by his nurse. Another stage ends when he attains the use of reason. He now knows within limits what is right and wrong and begins to be responsible for his actions. The next stage certainly ends when he comes to sexual maturity. Great and important changes take place at that time. He is no longer a boy, he begins to enter on manhood. Among modern civilized peoples this stage is not usually marked by any special observances. It is usual to wait until the end of the next stage when a young man comes of age and becomes his own master. But among primitive and uncivilized races the age of puberty is the turning point in a man's life. At that age the society of the women and children is abandoned for that of the men. Social life with its burdens and responsibilities begins. After that stage a man must help his tribe in war and he has a right to assist at its deliberations in time of peace. He may then marry and thus help to the continuance and increase of his tribe.

Among nearly all uncivilized races such as those of Terra del Fuego, North and South America, Australia, Polynesia, Melanesia, New Guinea, Africa, and the Arctic regions, the stage is marked by solemn rites of initiation. In substance, the following is Monsignor Le Roy's description of the rites in use among the tribes of Central Africa. When the day arrives the boys from fifteen to eighteen or twenty years of age are subjected to certain tests of endurance under the supervision of an expert. They enter upon a sort of retreat, living, eating and sleeping apart, usually in the bush. During this time they repeat certain chants and dances, receive secret instruction in what is allowed or forbidden, new taboos are communicated to them, and they learn what concerns the traditions, customs and interests of the tribe. On this occasion they renew their alliance with the totem of the tribe by symbolical ceremonies, sacrifice and communion. All this lasts several days or weeks and often even months and years. Their black skin is made white, the color of spirits, with powdered chalk or flour. They adorn them-

selves with ornaments and dance continually. A new name is given them, they are born again and discard the taboos of infancy. The distinctive marks of the tribe are put on them, they are tattooed and their teeth are filed. They finish up with a grand festival, comprising solemn processions, dances, presents and a banquet.[1]

All the world over initiation rites contain striking resemblances. They are summed up by M. G. D'Alviella in Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics. They comprise: (*a*) Mystic dances; (*b*) the use of the turndun or bull-roarer; (*c*) daubing with clay and washing this off; (*d*) performances with serpents and other "mad doings"; (*e*) a simulation of death and resurrection; (*f*) the granting of a new name to the initiated; (*g*) the use of masks or other disguises. In any case we may say that initiation ceremonies include: (1) A series of formalities which loosen the ties binding the neophyte to his former environment, among which circumcision and ritual burial are often found; (2) another series of formalities admitting him to a new society; (3) an exhibition of sacred objects and instruction on subjects relating to them; (4) re-entry or re-integration rites facilitating the return of the neophyte into the ordinary world.[2] Other authorities note that the completion of initiation rites at puberty is often marked not only by dancing and feasting but by great license and the indulgence of lust.[3] The instruction given during the initiation ceremonies embraces moral and religious as well as social and political subjects. Howitt knew little of the inner religious beliefs of the tribes of Australia until he himself was initiated. He and later writers have told us how in the initiation rites the existence and name of a Supreme Being are communicated to the neophyte. An image of the Supreme Being is made during the rites and immediately afterwards destroyed. Worship and prayer are offered to Him. The secrecy ordinarily observed about these matters explains how it has happened that some travelers and anthropologists have asserted that the native tribes of Australia have no knowledge of a Supreme Being and no religion.

In order to explain the resemblances which have been observed in the initiation rites of widely different peoples it is not necessary to suppose that one has borrowed from another. The passage from boyhood to manhood is a fact of human nature and it is natural

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[1] "La Religion des Primitifs," p. 283.
[2] Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, VII., 317.
[3] Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, X., 445.

that among primitive races the period should be signalized by ceremonies. Those ceremonies will also naturally express the facts of the case. There is necessarily a dying to the past and a rising again to a new life; a death and a rebirth; a putting off of the old man and a putting on of the new. The symbolism employed has to express those facts and it is natural that similar symbols should be universally employed. Water everywhere is employed to wash off the dirt contracted yesterday in order to begin to-day fresh and presentable. What wonder then that initiation rites, used to symbolize the passing one stage of human existence and the beginning of a new and more important stage, should embrace all the world over such ceremonies as the daubing of the body of the neophyte with clay or chalk and the washing of it off by baths, aspersions and lustrations? Instruction, too, on the more important duties of manhood naturally also comes in at this period which is the beginning of manhood.

It is interesting and not surprising to find that several of the rites which characterize the initiation of boys into manhood among savage races appear also in the ceremonies of initiation into the mysteries in vogue among the ancient Greeks. On this subject A. Lang writes:

"It would be tedious to offer an exhaustive account of savage rites analogous to these mysteries of Hellas. Let it suffice to display the points where Greek found itself in harmony with Australian, and American, and African practice. These points are: (1) mystic dances; (2) the use of a little instrument, called turndun, in Australia, whereby a roaring noise is made, and the profane are warned off; (3) the habit of daubing persons about to be initiated with clay or anything else that is sordid, and of washing this off, apparently by way of showing that old guilt is removed, and a new life entered upon; (4) the performances with serpents may be noticed, while the 'mad doings' and 'howlings' mentioned by Plutarch are familiar to every reader of travels in uncivilized countries; (5) ethical instruction is communicated." [4]

In addition to the foregoing certain other details are recorded in connection with initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries. Such are the viewing and handling of certain sacred objects, the solemn drinking of the sacred kukeon, or gruel of meal and water, and the magical pouring out of water from sacred vessels with the appropriate spells in order to bring about a regular fall of fain.

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[4] "Myth, Ritual and Religion," I., 271.

We have already seen that all initiation rites must necessarily comprise ceremonies which symbolize the abandonment of a former stage and other ceremonies which symbolize the passage into a new stage with appropriate instruction concerning the latter. The rites adopted at Eleusis to symbolize the passage of the initiated to their new state were and have remained secret to a great extent. But what that new state was is well known. It was a state of assurance that the future life after death of the initiated would be happy. In all probability this was brought about at least partially by means of a sacred drama exhibiting the death and resurrection of Persephone, the goddess of vegetation. Magical actions and spells which guaranteed a regular rainfall and the rising of a plentiful harvest from the dead grain that had been sown in the earth would avail also for the resurrection of the initiate to a happy life after death. This was certainly the case with the mysteries of Osiris. The same magical rites which were effective in the restoration of the murdered Osiris to a new life would avail to ensure to the initiated a new and happy life after death. That was the essential element in many of the mysteries of the ancient world. The initiated obtained by initiation the assurance that their life after death would be happier and more blessed than it would be without initiation. Initiation put the initiated in possession of that benefit. Initiation with puberty rites made the competent member of the tribe, initiation with mystery rites made the happy shade, and placed him in the Elysian fields in the underworld. Many of the rites used in the two initiations were outwardly similar, but they acquired a totally different meaning from the different nature and intention of the two rites. Washing in the puberty rites meant the passing away of boyhood, washing in the mysteries meant the putting off of mortality and the being clothed in immortality.

We can now approach the question of chief interest in this matter. The modern student of the science of religion regards all things from the point of view of evolution. All things, including the Christian religion, have been gradually evolved from preëxisting materials. As the editors of a recent book say: "The claim of Christianity to be a 'faith once delivered to the Saints' cannot bear the scrutiny of the historian of religions. To him it appears not a single religion but a complex of many, justified in claiming the name of Christianity by reason of the thread of historic continuity which runs through and connects the components parts." [5]

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[5] "The Beginnings of Christianity," p. 265 [1920].

According to this view Jesus Christ may almost be discarded. He had very little to do with the foundation of Christianity. Its elements are to be found in the religious ideas, rites and ceremonies of the early centuries of the Christian era. The name Christianity may be given to this synthesis and syncretism of religions, and in that sense the name may be justified historically.

One of the chief sources of Christianity, according to this view, are the mystery religions which were so common in the ancient world. In fact, Christianity may be called a mystery religion. One of the chief types of ancient mystery religions was that of Osiris. Osiris was murdered by his brother, but by means of magic spells he was restored to life again. His passion, death and resurrection formed the subject of the sacred drama which those initiated in his mysteries were privileged to behold. Through similar magic spells the initiated were assured of immortality. Through the god's passion and death, and by means of the lustrations and magic rites of initiation they would rise to a new and everlasting life after death and obtain salvation. Such ideas and practices as these were adopted by St. Paul and others, and they thus became the real founders of Christianity. It is not surprising then to find Origen and other Fathers of the Church writing of "our mysteries" as distinguished from the pagan mysteries, and to find them applying to Christian baptism such technical terms borrowed from the pagan mysteries as *illumination, seal,* and practicing similar rites of initiation.

It cannot be denied that there is a certain analogy between initiation into the pagan mystery religions and initiation into the Christian religion. There are obvious resemblances between the two. Such resemblances there must be in the circumstances. All religions, whether of divine or of human institution, must correspond more or less to the needs and facts of human nature. All to some extent must exhibit a process of turning away from earth and self to heaven and God. It is natural for man to express such ideas as these by rites and ceremonies. Such rites and ceremonies will necessarily resemble one another to some extent as we have shown that they do in the case of puberty rites and mystery rites. But the resemblances between the pagan mystery rites and the rites of admission into the Christian Church are merely superficial. There are fundamental differences in their meaning and object. We have already seen what the pagan rites meant. The Christian rites meant and expressed repentance for past sin and the purpose of leading a new and better life for the future. They were a solemn renuncia-

tion of the devil, the world and the flesh, and a solemn engagement to lead a life for the future in conformity with the Gospel of Jesus Christ and in imitation of His example. On those conditions the rite of baptism washed away past sins and made the initiate a child of God by grace and a member of the Christian Church. All this it did through the merits of the atonement offered by Jesus Christ, who, as He Himself said, "died for many unto the remission of sins." Because He came to do that, He was called Jesus, for He was to save His people from their sins. Those who corresponded with His grace, kept their engagement and led good lives would receive from Him as Judge the reward of life everlasting after death. There is nothing corresponding with that in the pagan mysteries.

Moreover, it is futile to attempt to explain Christianity without Christ. He and no one else was the builder of His Church. According to His own teaching He was the Messias, the King of the kingdom of God on earth and in heaven, He was the Son of God as well as the Son of Man, He was the Lord of the Sabbath, He was the Light of the world, He was the corner-stone, rejected indeed by human builders, but made by God the corner of the angle. Christian faith, without which it is impossible to be saved, is a firm belief in the Gospel preached by Jesus Christ. The centre of Christian worship is Jesus Christ Himself, He is the author and finisher of our faith, He is Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end.

The attempt to account for Christianity without Christ has only been rendered to some extent plausible by the ruthless excision of some texts from our documents and the violent distortion of others. If all other historical documents were treated in the same way as the Gospels have been treated by the rationalist school very little history would survive.

The theory that St. Paul and other Christian leaders of the first centuries of the Church's existence borrowed their religious ideas and ceremonies from the pagan religious mysteries is scarcely plausible. There are not only fundamental differences between the two systems, but they are strongly opposed to each other. The pagan mysteries were an important part of pagan religious beliefs and worship, and so they were idolatrous. St. Paul and the early Christians were at least as strongly opposed to idolatry as were the Jews. St. Paul writes: "What participation hath justice with injustice? Or what fellowship hath light with darkness? And what concord

hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath the faithful with the unbeliever? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols?"[6] Elsewhere he says: "The things which the heathens sacrifice they sacrifice to devils and not to God. And I would not that you should be made partakers with devils. You cannot drink the chalice of the Lord and the chalice of devils; you cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord and of the table of devils."[7] These latter words of St. Paul are merely an application of the words of the Psalmist: "All the gods of the Gentiles are devils."[8]

This doctrine is not in favor with the modern student of comparative religion, but it is a doctrine firmly held by St. Paul and the leaders of early Christianity, and the fact must be reckoned with. The early Fathers frequently give expression to it with reference to the pagan mysteries. Thus St. Justin asserts "that the wicked demons have initiated [the Eucharist] in the mysteries of Mithras."[9] Tertullian says that the devil with the mystic rites of his idols vies with the Christian sacraments.[10] It is interesting to note that Tertullian explains the mysteries of Osiris as dramatizing the succession of the seasons in nature.[11] The most noteworthy passage in the early Fathers concerning the pagan mysteries occurs in Clement of Alexandria, "Exhortation to the Heathen," c. 2. He was obviously well acquainted with the pagan mysteries and he describes several of them in detail. He says he will not abstain from describing what the pagans are not ashamed to worship. They were exhibitions of inhuman cruelty and lust. The sacred objects which the initiated were privileged to view, touch and handle in the initiation rites were simply obscenities which cannot be described in English. There was good reason, says Clement, why the pagan mysteries were celebrated in secrecy and under cover of night. That these things were facts is attested by modern scholars.[12] There is a tendency among modern students of comparative religion to gloss over these ugly details, but they are of very great importance in our inquiry. They show the violent contrast between the pagan mysteries and the spirit of Christianity, they show that the latter could not possibly have borrowed from the former.

How then, it may be asked, are we to account for the fact that

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[6] II. Cor. vi., 14-16.
[7] I. Cor. x., 20, 21.
[8] Ps. xcv., 5.
[9] First Apology, c. 66.
[10] De præscript, c. 11; cf. De Bapt., c. 5.
[11] Against Marcion c. 13.
[12] Hastings' Encyclop. of Rel. IX., 818.

the same technical terms are used for analogous rites and ideas in the mysteries of paganism and of Christianity? In answer to this question we may refer to what is generally admitted with regard to the term Logos. This term was used by Philo to designate a divine Being, whom he also called the Son of God. It was borrowed from the philosophy of Plato, but its meaning was also very similar to what is said of the Word of God in the Old Testament and especially in the Sapiential Books. Doubtless some judaizing Christians were abusing the term when St. John wrote his Gospel. He desired to insist on the divinity of the Son of God, on His consubstantiality with the Father and on the creation of all things by Him. St. John then adopted the term in use among the philosophers of his time while giving it a meaning and a content in keeping with the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Christian writers have never scrupled to do the same. At the time of the Renaissance it became fashionable to speak of *Divus* Augustinus, *Divus* Thomas instead of Sanctus Augustinus and Sanctus Thomas. Nowadays a Catholic writer may speak of the evolution of doctrine or of religion instead of the development of doctrine without incurring the suspicion of having gone over to the ranks of the mechanical evolutionists.

The application then of such terms as enlightenment, seal, mystery, mystagogue and others to Christian ideas and rites need cause no difficulty, though they were also in use as technical terms in the pagan mysteries. The terms enlightenment or illumination and seal are frequently used in the Old and New Testament. Although mystery is found in the New Testament its meaning there is not quite the same as it has in the phrase mystery religions. It may then perhaps be conceded that when Origen speaks of "our mysteries" he is borrowing a term from the mystery religions and applying it to Christian doctrines and rites. The same may be said of the use of mystagogue and similar terms by other Fathers of the Church. The Church had learned by experience that it was advisable to use secrecy as to her doctrine and rites in certain cases, so that there is no need to explain the *disciplina arcani* by reference to the mystery religions. The same may be said of the catechumenate, a period of probation and instruction in preparation for baptism.

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INSECTS OF WATER, EARTH AND SKY and HYACINTH AND HYACINTHUS

I. ABOUT THE WATER-BEETLES.

"And o'er its surface shoots, and shoots again,
The glittering dragon-fly, and deep within
Run the brown water-beetles to and fro."
—William C. Bryant ("Noon")

IN HER book "Up and Down the Brooks," Mary Bamford devotes a chapter to each of the well-known water-beetle families, and succeeds in making the facts regarding their life cycles and her own experiences and observations read as entertainingly as a romance, even more interestingly than many a made-up tale.

She gives the family *Dytiscidæ,* or the True Diving Beetles, the name of Water-Tigers, which is more properly applied to the insects when in the larval state, but which makes a convenient name for them in any stage of development. *Dytiscus* comes from a Greek word meaning "able to dive," from the verb meaning "to sink." And as Greek and Latin names, particularly when applied to species, are supposed to have terrors for the reader, in this article Diving-Beetle or Water-Tiger will be used for the Dytiscus, whose characteristics. Buckley briefly sums up as follows:

"The true water-beetle, which dives and swims so powerfully with its broad hind legs, and carries air under its closed wing-cases, is one of the most greedy of water animals, both as a grub and beetle. Not only does it devour the grubs of may-flies, dragon-flies, and other pond insects, but it feeds on snails, tadpoles, and fish; taking care, however, to burrow deep in the earth out of the way, when its helpless season comes, lest some of these creatures should return the compliment."

Dytiscus is a well-built insect, adapted for the life he is to lead, for he passes his first and final stages in the water of fresh lakes and marshes and quiet streams of all countries. He can live on the land and also in the water, being able to fly, to remain a long time under water in pursuit of prey, or to swim on the surface with great rapidity.

The various species are usually brownish black and shining, but are often marked with dull yellow tints; they vary in size from one and a half inches to a fourth of an inch in length. The hind legs are the longest of the three pairs, and are made for swimming, being flattened and fringed with hair. These oar-shaped legs are good swimming-organs, and the beetle possessing them uses them skillfully; like a good oarsman it always "feathers its oars" by giving the leg a dexterous twist while drawing it forward so that the flattened surface is horizontal. This feathering trick makes it a swift and tireless swimmer, so that it pursues its prey with great adroitness and cleverness.

The Diving-Beetles are oval in shape, with wing-cases flatly convex over a depressed body, which enables the insect to enclose a supply of air between body and wing-covers. As the breathing tubes are situated on the back, the pocket of air lies over them, like a bit of "open sky." When this supply of air is exhausted, the beetle comes to the surface, discharges the impure load, takes in a fresh reservoir of air, and darts again below to pursue another food-victim.

Says Mr. Comstock: "If one will approach quietly a pool of standing water, there may be seen oval, flattened beetles hanging head downward, with the tip of the abdomen at the surface of the water. The diving-beetles abound in our streams and ponds, but they are more often found in standing water than in streams. When at rest they float in an inclined position, head downward, with the tip of the hind end of the body projecting from the water."

This is the characteristic breathing attitude. For with the tip of the abdomen thrust through the surface film of the water, the insect lifts the tips of the wing-cases slightly; air pours in and is held there by the fine hairs on the back, where are also the spiracles, or breathing-openings. When the beetle goes down again it carries with ia supply of air by means of which respiration can go on for some time under water.

Miss Bamford describes "their bubbles. You should see a dozen dark-brown beetles, some of them perhaps an inch long, standing on their heads at the bottom of a jar of water, each beetle having at its posterior end a shining round bubble of air. Occasionally, from some collision or sudden calamity, one of the beetles looses his bubble. Up the round thing flies through the water to the surface, and the bubble-less beetle is seldom long in rushing up to protude the end of his body and grasp another round bubble with

which he comes rushing triumphantly back to his brethren. Even if, in the darkness of some obscure corner of the jar, the *Dytiscidæ* cannot be seen, yet one can catch the shine of their bubbles and know where the beetles are.

"They are of a very retiring disposition as long as they think that there is any one around. They are capable of concealing themselves pretty well. There may be a dozen of these beetles in a jar, and if there are only mud and weeds enough at the bottom, the creatures, when alarmed, will conceal themselves so that one would not know that there was a beetle in the water. The dark color is easily concealed by its likeness to earth color, and, unless their bubbles betray them, the beetles are safe.

The diving beetles can be easily kept in aquariums, and the interesting habits of themselves and their young easily studied. They are very voracious in all stages, destroying other insects and even small fish. In the aquarium they can be fed upon meat of any kind, raw or cooked. The best way to obtain specimens is to sweep the vegetation growing on the bottom of a quiet pool with a dip-net, when both fullgrown bettles and young Water-Tigers can be easily captured, if they are present in the pond.

Several species of Diving Beetles make sounds, both in the air and in the water; this squeaking noise is made by rubbing the wing-covers together, or by rubbing the hind legs upon a rough spot on the lower end of the abdomen.

Should its search for food in one pond be useless, this beetle migrates to some other pool where food is more plentiful. This moving is usually done at night, and if the beetle be attracted by the glow of some electric light or even a kerosene lamp, it will join the throng of revelers and quite forget what it set out to do.

"These *Dytiscidæ* are murderers at heart, as no one can doubt who has ever seen an earth-worm in their power," says Miss Bamford. "No sooner does the earth-worm fall into the water of the bottle in which these beetles are confined, than one of the hungry *Dytiscidæ* will pounce on the unlucky creature. Another beetle, looking up from the bottom of the jar, will behold the prize to which his brother has fallen heir, and straightway, filled with covetousness, will rush upward through the water to pull the desired morsel away if possible. One beetle will tug in one direction, the other in another; they rush through the water, shaking their victim in perfect fury, till a person watching the battle might almost hear the first beetle squeak, 'I will have it,' and the other reply,

'You shan't.' And so the fight goes on, till one of the beetles conquers, and departs to enjoy the spoils of war."

The females drop their eggs at random into the water, though some few species may deposit them in slits cut in the stems of water plants.

The long, slender, spindle-form, semi-transparent larvæ are the Water-Tigers, named from their voracious habits. Miss Bamford says: "They are furnished at one end of the body with a flat head marked with six ocelli and armed with a pair of sharp jaws like scissors, and at the other end by two breathing gills which they keep uppermost as they dart head downward through the water. Armed with his pair of shears, the gray-yellowish, two-inch long larva goes forth to prune the animal world. Is that a polliwog? Let us snip off his tail. It is too long. Or, if that cannot be accomplished, let us at least hold on to the polliwog till we have sucked him dry of juice.

"The indiscriminate slaughter of victims indulged in by these larvæ soon imparts to an uncared-for jar, an 'ancient and fish-like smell,' since the larvæ do not devour their victims whole, but suck out the juice and then drop the bodies on the bottom of the jar. A keeper of these larvæ will find himself called on often to perform the office of undertaker."

She narrates with droll humor the history of one Oliver Water-Tiger, named "because, like Twist of trite fame, he continually sighed for more polliwogs." Also his eleven brothers, each of whom she tried to raise to the transforming age, but lost prematurely, and closes with the decision: "The next time I undertake to raise Water-Tigers will probably be when I can afford to hire a small boy to bring a small pailful of black toad-polliwogs daily."

However, when a larva is fully grown it leaves the water, burrows into the ground, and makes a round cell, within which it undergoes its transformations. The pupa state lasts about three weeks in summer, but the larvæ that transform in autumn remain in the dormant condition all winter.

Another family of water-beetles is the *Hydrophilidæ,* whose scientific name Miss Bamford translates literally into Water-Lover. This is the Water-Scavenger Beetle, common in quiet pools, where it may be found swimming through the water, or crawling among the plants growing on the bottom. March is a good month to go dredging for the beetles among the aquatic plants they frequent.

They are black, shining, elliptical insects and resemble the Diving

Beetles in general. But they have their breather tubes on the lower surface of the body, so carry a film of air on the under side, which gives them a silvery appearance when seen from below, as if washed with quicksilver. They obtain their tank of air by bringing the head to the surface of the water and projecting the antennæ, which they fold back with a bubble of air when they descend.

Miss Bamford has "seen one of these *Hydrophilidæ* so interested in a dead earth-worm that when his supply of air became exhausted he would rush to the top of the bottle, poke up his head, rush down again and go straight to the worm and recommence the apparent chewing off of little pieces of flesh."

> "And see! up the dumb water-beetles dart,
> Then dive again among the swaying stems
> Our boat glides over."
> —Andrew Winter ("August, a Water Sketch")

These beetles can "squeak," and they also go armed, for "safely hidden underneath the body, at the end of the sternum, is a very short, somewhat sharp, black 'pin,' ready to be stuck into the unfortunate creature that incurs this beetle's wrath," as Miss Bamford observes. Says Mr. Packard: "How useful it may be to the insect in pushing its way through any obstacle may be demonstrated by holding the beetle tightly between the fingers; here even it manages to push its way out and drop to the ground."

These Water-Scavenger Beetles are supposed to live chiefly upon decaying vegetation or upon dead animal matter, but they feed also on living plants and insects, even their own brothers not being exempted by the stronger members of the family.

The eggs are enclosed in a ball-like, silken cocoon, water-tight and firm, and with a curious handle-like tapering curved stem or spike. Some egg cases are fastened beneath the leaves of aquatic plants; in others they are provided with wider stems which serve as floats, and are left to float about in the water. In a few species of these beetles the cases are carried by the mothers underneath the body, steadied by the hind legs. From fifty to a hundred eggs, little yellow, oblong specks, are enclosed in each sac, which is about the size of a small bean. Frequently some of the young larvæ devour their companions while still in the egg-case. So

> "When the water-beetle with great blind deaf face
> Made of her eggs the stately deposit,"

as Robert Browning remarks, she little dreamed that within the

safety zone she had so carefully made for her young, foul fratricide was to be enacted. Or, perhaps, she had her fears, but thought it better if some of the young were to be devoured, that a member of the family profit rather than some rank stranger. The eggs hatch in about thirty days from time of laying.

The larvæ are little black worm-like grubs, about an eighth of an inch in length; they are armed with nippers for spearing and draining a captured insect, snail, tadpole, or earth-worm. "No vegetable diet was sufficient for the appetites of these little squirming larvæ," records Miss Bamford. "With their branching pincers projecting from either side of their heads, they wandered around the surface of the water, occasionally meeting and bunting into each other, interlocking horns like a couple of inimical goats. But fratricide prevailed, until, at last, one larva remained, the sole ruler of the bottle, the survivor of his brethren, illustrating in himself the doctrine of the Survival of the Fittest.

"The Fittest did not seem to be a particularly bright infant. Not that he was not willing enough, but he was clumsy. He waddled, with the hind part of his body held above, much after the manner of a misdirected parasol, while his six legs paddled through the water, and his horns turned stupidly toward any prey that he dimly saw. He had caught his brethren because they were as stupid as he."

These larvæ breathe through tiny tubes at the tail end of the body, and they come to the surface to get air occasionally. In shallow water, they simply lie with the tip of the tail projected up to the surface. When ready to pupate the larvæ leave the water, and burrowing a few inches into the ground, form rough cells in which they transform. When winter comes the adult beetles burrow into the bottom or bank of the pond or stream and lie torpid until spring.

There may be more refined æsthetic members of the great order of *Insecta,* but as these bettles, young and old, frequent the most loathsome ditches, thick with mud and putrefying matter they are acting as scavengers and so doing all they can to aid the Board of Health, even though when they come to the surface for pure air it may be strongly mixed with the spicy odors emanating from their native puddle.

II. ABOUT THE WOLF-SPIDER.

"Along the path where the lizard hides
An instant shadow, the spider glides,

The hairy spider that haunts the way,
Crouching black by its earth-bored hole,
An insect ogre, that lairs with the mole,
Hungry, seeking its insect prey,
Fast to follow and swift to slay."
—Madison J. Cawein ("In Solitary Places")

The genus *Lycosa* is given the Greek name of a kind of spider, whose literal meaning is "a wolf." These wolf-spiders are well named, being large, dark-colored, long-legged, hairy individuals with habits and appetites to match the name. Since they construct no web, but search for their prey, hunting or running spiders is another name for them. They are swift of foot and depend on their spry legs to overtake food-victims. The most celebrated member of the family is the tarantula of southern Europe; other species are very common in this country.

Whatever the species, the wolf-spider is savage, voracious and quarrelsome. Night is their favorite hunting-time, though a keen appetite will bring them out to prowl during the day. Mr. Weed describes such a venture:

"One day early in October a large grayish-drab spider was found in a house attempting to climb the attic stairs. It had reached the second story and apparently desired to ascend to the third; but instead, it was trapped in a box and assigned commodious quarters in a large glass jar.

"The captive was recognized as one of the ground spiders, and of the family *Lycosidæ,* and belonged to the typical genus *Lycosa.* Under natural conditions out-of-doors I had seen these spiders eating a variety of insect food, so it seemed probable his spidership would not be over-fastidious in confinement. I soon found that crickets were especially esteemed, and fed him these chiefly.

"If he had not broken his fast for several days, the poor cricket, after entering the jar, had short shrift; the spider would pounce upon it like a flash, and the victim was held in the palpi up to the mouth, where its body juices were eagerly sucked. So intent was the spider upon his meal that there was little difficulty in photographing him in the act, even when the conditions of light required an exposure of more than half a minute.

"Ordinarily he would stand on all eight legs, with the body somewhat elevated, manipulating the cricket with the palpi. If disturbed during the meal, the spider would raise one or both of his front legs and wave them up and down slowly."

Wolf-spiders may be found under stones and logs, but self-made hiding-places are popular. These are tunnels dug by the spiders, each having a den to itself where it lurks during the day, or hibernates from fall to spring.

One of these tunnels shows considerable ingenuity. The shaft usually runs straight down for ten inches or so, though in one instance a depth of between twenty-two and twenty-three inches was reached. The tunnel will be perfectly round, just large enough for the spider to move up and down. It may widen out at the bottom into two enlarged chambers, an upper and a lower one, but the tunnels of many ground-spiders are of the same diameter throughout. The mouth of the tube has a ring made chiefly of silk, to strengthen it generally and to prevent the soil from breaking away when softened by rains.

The most interesting feature of the den is the entrance, which, when present, is in the form of a turret. It varies in shape and material and construction, depending on the species of spider building it, the materials at hand, or perhaps the individual's notion of how a turret should be made.

For instance, the opening may be covered, or partly obscured, by a mass of dead and dry leaves heaped about and over it. Or there may be a ring of sticks and leaves loosely fastened together with fine threads of silk. The turret of a burrow dug in soft sand will have a foundation of small pebbles around the burrow, perhaps surmounted by several tiers of sticks, leaves, grass-stems, weed-stalks, and so on, lashed together with silk. If one will carefully scoop the sand away from around the burrow, the silk lining will hold the sandy walls up quite firmly for two or three inches, giving the wall "the appearance of the leg of a wee lace stocking dusted over with sand," as one writer describes it.

The typical turret resembles a miniature chimney of mud and sticks, in the form of a rude circle, or rather pentagon. It will be composed chiefly of grass-straws and weed-stalks, crossed at the corners log-cabin fashion and built up to the height of two inches or more; this material will be cemented together with earth and silk, so that it can be removed intact, if handled with reasonable care.

The turret is begun when the burrow is about two inches deep. First a stick is placed at the edge of the tube, and lashed down with a strong silk thread. Another is laid in place, and another, until there are four or five encircling the hole. This one tier of

its foundation laid, the spider brings up the earth he excavates in little pellets which are packed above and inside the sticks, pressing them down with feet and body as he works around the circle. Another layer of sticks, more plaster, another layer, and so on, completes the turret and at the same time deepens the den. When the turret is high enough, the inner surface is smoothed and lined with silk, the lining also extending down into the tube. Thereafter any earth brought up as the den deepens is carried up in the jaws, in tiny balls, and tossed off the turret with sufficient force to scatter them a foot or more away from the place.

The reason for the turret is obvious. It may serve as a watch-tower from which the spider may lie in wait for approaching prey or enemies, and the builder will often be spied crouching atop the tower, legs drawn up and head peering over the edge, wolf-fashion. Again, the small elevation forms a tempting perch for insects, making the spider's hunting that much easier. It is also thought that the turret serves to protect the interior from being flooded by the water that gathers upon the ground during a hard rain.

When finished, the turret is a neat little affair, resembling a tiny bird's-nest without a bottom. One variation favored by a certain species of *Lycosa* is a canopy web overlaid with leaves, blades of grass, and such material, the whole being securely fastened down except at a place of entrance and exit, which is only discovered with the closest search. This opening will often be found closed securely for two or three weeks in the autumn, in order to frustrate the plans of wasps engaged in provisioning their cells. For the wasp that finds one of these cells unsealed has no scruples about darting below and if she can get in her sting before the spider can use its claws, she will carry her paralyzed victim off to her own burrow. During the winter these burrows are sealed over with silk and other material.

One writer gives an interesting instance of spider adaptability: He had put a plug of cotton batting in one of these burrows, to keep the owner in while he cut the cell out, preserved entire in the midst of the surrounding sod, which was put in a keg. The loose cotton plug was left in the tower. A few days later the spider had her tower lined from top to bottom with cotton, the lining even extending an inch or more below the surface and over the edge, and was "laid on as smoothly as though done by the delicate hand of an upholsterer. Perhaps by the contact of her highly sensitive feet and mouth organs with the soft fabric the suggestion was raised

that it might be utilized for lining her nest, or perhaps the sensation produced by handling the soft cotton started a train of associations that led her to deal with a substance quite foreign to her, as she habitually deals with the silk which she secretes."

If one of these wolf-spiders be put in a glass candy jar nearly filled with earth, and provided with some loose turret material, it will be very likely to construct a burrow right before the observer's eyes, tower and all. Of course, the observer will need to turn market-man and supply the worker with flies, grasshoppers, crickets, and other insects.

Another use for the dungeon is that it serves for a brooding chamber for a female spider. For two months or more a mother carries her young around with her wherever she goes, which makes a retreat quite necessary when she is not actually on the hunt for food. There is but one brood of young a year, usually from June into the summer; during this time a wolf-spider can often be found dragging after her a large gray ball attached to the rear end of her body.

This egg-sac is made of strong silk, and when the young are about ready to issue, it will have about the size and shape of a a grape. It is lashed to the spinning-tubes at the end of the mother's abdomen, and this cradle is carried bobbing along behind whenever the creature must stir abroad. It contains about a hundred eggs, or young, and is a most precious possession. She rarely, if ever, abandons this cocoon, and will die in its defense if necessary.

"No miser," says Kirby, "clings to his treasure with more solicitude than this spider to her bag. She carries it with her everywhere. If you deprive her of it, she makes the most strenuous efforts for its recovery. If you restore it, her actions demonstrate her joy. She seizes it, and with the utmost agility runs off with it to a place of security."

Miss Buckley testifies: "If you try to take it away she will fight for it as courageously as any human mother. I took away one three times from a mother, and each time she seized it again and went off gaily with it at last, none the worse for the struggle."

Bonnet's experience affords a striking parallel to those often recorded of other animals when robbed of their young. To put her affection to the test, he threw her into the pit of a large ant-lion, in the sand. The fierce ant-lion seized her bag, when she struggled till its fastening gave way. She then regained it with her jaws, but by superior strength he pulled it into the sand, into which, rather

than forsake her treasure, she suffered herself to be dragged also. Bonnet forced her from it, but, though repeatedly pulled away, she would not leave the spot.

Her maternal tenderness is shown not only in the carefully treasured silken cradle enveloping little senseless eggs or unseen but living spiderlings; she is equally devoted to the young after they are out of the bag. When the proper time comes for the young spiders to leave their cradle, she makes an opening in the bag. Out they tumble in groups and balls, and gather at once on her back and legs.

Perhaps a brood of a hundred or more will be swarming upon her, hanging in a close cluster upon her back and abdomen, so that her body is almost hidden by the wriggling mass of wee spiderlings. This gives her a peculiarly nervous appearance, and one seen crouching in her hunting attitude on top of her tower will seem to be quivering with eagerness, as the young cling to her and crawl about her and over each other. Yet so great is her love for them that she will carry them about with her, feeding them until they are able to help themselves.

"During the first three weeks," says Doctor McCook, "the little things are piled all over the head and back of the mother, often appearing to blind her. They seem ambitious to reach the highest point, and jostle and crowd one another in their efforts to be at the top of the heap. This the mother patiently endures for a time, but when the younglings thicken too closely over her eyes she reaches up her forelegs, scrapes off an armful and holds them straight in front of her as if disciplining them by reproving looks. Soon she releases them by slowly opening her legs, whereupon they quietly take their places around the edge of the tower where they usually remain until the mother goes below, when they all follow. Upon her reappearance they are again mounted upon her back.

"Her body is covered with soft hairs to which her babies hold by their feet, or fasten themselves by delicate threads spun from their spinnerets. When they are two weeks old, they 'molt,' or cast their skin, a process which spiders undergo several times until they are quite mature. The molting of the young turret spiders is a curious sight. They stretch a line across the back of the mother's abdomen to which they fasten themselves. Then they begin to undress.

"The skin cracks all around the chest, which is held by the front edge alone; next the abdomen is freed, and then comes the struggle

to free the legs. By dint of regular pullings, repeated at short intervals, the old skin is cast in fifteen minutes or more, and the spiderling appears undressed but quite exhausted. It lies limp, pallid and motionless for a little while and then gradually resumes its activity. Sometimes the mother's back will be covered with taut lines decorated with these cast-off molts, reminding one of the dainty pieces of a baby's toilet hung up to dry in the laundry.

"When the young are about three weeks old a few begin to leave the maternal care. They have been long enough 'tied to mother's apron string,' to quote a common saying that has quite as much fact as figure in it for our spiderlings. They climb up a grass stalk, then venture upon a higher weed or shrub, thence they reach the trunk of a tree, and, grown bolder, now, climb out upon the branches.

"After another week the mother shows a disposition to send her brood adrift. The time for weaning has come, and occasionally a little one is reminded of this fact by being tossed away into the grass. A bright, warm autumn day follows, and then the entire brood, moved by the resistless instinct of migration, leave their mother without further ceremony, run here and there upon plants and trees, or are distributed over the vicinity by webby balloons. Later in the season or in the spring one will find a number of tiny burrows, the very counterpart of the mother's, in which the young have set up housekeeping, or cave-keeping, for themselves. As they grow in size the burrows are enlarged, until at last the babes have themselves become mothers and repeat among their own broods the maternal instincts that fostered their baby days." Gossip has it that her young often devour the devoted mother before abandoning her.

The wolf-spider, common in Massachusetts and similar latitudes, is bluish black, one of the largest species of the *Lycosa*. It is about one and a half inches long, about the size of the tarantula of Europe, and is very savage and tenacious of life.

A still larger American species is the one called tarantula in the Southern States, which attains a length of two inches, with a leg extent of four inches. It is mouse-colored above, with white sides and whitish dots and lines on the abdomen, blackish below, legs whitish tipped with black. It makes deep excavations in the ground, which it lines with silk. Its poison is active as regards small creataures, but man rarely if ever suffers from its fangs. The

southwestern tarantulas are not wolf-spiders, but members of the trap-door spider family.

The tarantula of southern Europe received its popular name from being common in the vicinity of Taranto, in southern Italy. It is the largest of European spiders; its color is ashy-brown above, marked with gray on the thorax, triangular spots and curved streaks of black bordered with white on the abdomen, saffron below with a black band. Its bite was once considered highly poisonous, producing the nervous febrile condition called tarantism, which was supposed to be curable only by dancing to lively music until the person fell exhausted. Modern investigation has found there is no connection between the animal and the disease.

III. ABOUT THE MONARCH BUTTERFLY.

Whether you call this butterfly the Monarch or the Milkweed, it is well named. In the words of Mr. Comstock: "'I am monarch of all I survey' is exemplified in the confident, serene flight of this butterfly; the species is nauseous to birds in both the caterpillar and adult stages, and by their bold actions they show the result of this immunity. . . . Well is it named the monarch, for it is the most daring and indomitable butterfly that we know."

"The all-conquering American butterfly is the monarch," says Mr. Kellogg. "This great red-brown butterfly king ranges over all of North and South America, and has begun its invasion of other countries by getting a foothold on the west coast of Europe and in almost all of the Pacific islands and in Australia. I have found the monarch the most abundant butterfly through all of the Hawaiian Islands, two thousand miles from the California coast, and still two thousand miles farther into the great Pacific; in the Samoan Islands it is also the dominant butterfly species.

"Its success is due to its hardiness, its strong flight power, the abundance and cosmopolitan distribution of its food-plant, and finally and most important its inedibility—to birds."

Still another entomologist must stop studying the species long enough to admire it—a Mr. J. A. Moffat, of Canada: "I regard it as a particularly interesting creature in every respect; although so common it is never 'vulgar,' never in a hurry; it has the easy grace of the leisurely class. I have thought that one who has seen it only in an open country can form but an inadequate conception of the diversity of its movements on the wing. To see one, on a bright summer day when a stiff breeze is blowing, disport itself about the wide-

spreading top of a high tree, is a choice pleasure. It seems fairly to revel with delight in a gale; now it rolls, and tosses, and heaves, always heading against the wind; now it spreads its sails to the breeze and is hurried violently backward and upward; again it furls them, and slowly descending and advancing it describes a variety of the most charmingly graceful curves and waves and adulations imaginable; a thing of beauty to look at, and a joy to think of forever after. Attempts have been made to attach to it common names. I have thought when watching one at such a time that 'the storm king' would be very appropriate and quite befitting its regal character."

Mr. Kellogg discusses its migratory habit, which has been observed frequently in different parts of the country: "The monarch in the Eastern States has a migratory habit not unlike that of birds, great swarms flying south in the autumn to the Gulf States and the West Indies, returning north again in the spring, not in swarms, however, but singly. It ranges as far north as Canada. It has, too, a curious habit of assembling in great numbers in a few trees, like blackbirds, or crows in a 'roost,' and hanging there quietly in masses and festoons, many individuals clinging only to each other and not to the branches at all. On certain great pine trees near the Bay of Monterey on the California coast I have seen myriads of monarchs thus 'sembled.'"

Mr. Scudder, too: "It is found in the summer time over almost the entire continent, certainly as far north as into the Dominion of Canada; and yet it is probable that it does not exist in the winter further north than the Gulf States. It has extraordinary powers of flight, more so than any known butterfly, and every autumn when abundant (after first collecting in vast flocks or bevies of hundreds of thousands, changing the color of the trees or shrubs on which it alights for the night) migrates southward in streams, like our migrating birds.

"After passing the winter on the wing, without so far as known hibernating in torpidity, it leaves its winter quarters in the extreme south with the opening spring and flies northward, not in flocks or streams, but singly. The females lay their eggs when they are ripe wherever they may chance to be, some flying even as far as southern New York and Minnesota before concluding their life-duties. The caterpillars born from these eggs develop into butterflies, many of which again fly northward before they lay their eggs; while the butterflies developing from these last do not lay

eggs the same season (unless possibly in the warmer south), but migrate southward at the end of the season, to return again the next spring. North, therefore, of the farthest points to which the wintering butterflies have journeyed in the spring, there appears to be but one brood a year, south of it two, and in the extreme south possibly more.

"As a further proof of the transcendent powers of flight of this butterfly, it may be mentioned that it has been seen at sea 500 miles from land and has within thirty years spread over nearly all the islands of the Pacific and even to Australia and Java. Undoubtedly carried in the first place by trading or other vessels to the Hawaiian Islands and thence to Micronesia, it has unquestionably flown from island to island many hundreds of miles apart. It has also appeared at various times in different places on the seacoast of Europe, here also probably transported accidentally by vessel."

One observer, a Mr. William Edwards, reports a swarm of butterflies over Pegan Hall, in Natick, Mass.: "The day was warm and summer-like, with no wind to disturb the flight of butterflies, which was remarkably steady and even like the flight of migratory birds, and very unlike the usual zigzag movement of butterflies. We watched them for nearly an hour as they appeared in view from the north and moved steadily onward toward the south. Sometimes they appeared singly, sometimes in groups of three or four, but oftener in pairs and flying six or eight feet apart.

"Being anxious to obtain a specimen, that the species might be determined, we made several vain attempts to bring one down by sending our walking-sticks after them. This put them in great confusion, entirely breaking up their line of march and causing them to dodge rapidly to the right and left and frequently to drop down several feet; although they continued on at the same rate of speed, they seemed unable to gain their former even flight, but kept up this zigzag motion till lost sight of in the distance.

"They were apparently one of our largest species, and were visible at least one-eighth of a mile as they appeared in sight. It seems an important fact that they did not change their altitude in passing over the hill. We also noticed when descending the hill to the north that they were flying at the same level till we were so far below them that they appeared but mere specks in the air above our heads, and before we had reached the plains below we had entirely lost sight of them. There was no reason to suppose that the butter-

flies changed their course in order to pass over the hill, or that the flight did not extend over the surrounding country."

Of course, migration is a severe wing-test, but after all it is a pleasant plan to pass the winter in the warm sub-tropics, rather than hibernating it through cramped up in some chrysalis in a numb frozen condition.

This Monarch starts life in a pale, greenish-yellow egg, not one-sixteenth of an inch in length, of a conical shape, and under the magnifying-glass showing a most perfect geometrical pattern of twenty ridges tapering from the base to the tip of the cone, the area between ridges marked with evenly-spaced parallel stripes. The egg is deposited under a milkweed leaf, usually upon the mid-rib of one of the young leaves near the top of the plant.

It hatches in about four days, into a tiny caterpillar about one-tenth of an inch in length, pale-green with a black head. It feeds first on the empty egg shell, then nibbles at the milkweed leaf steadily for about a week, taking no pains to hide itself, but usually resting upon the under surface.

At this age, it becomes restless, spins a thin layer of silk upon the leaf, and prepares to moult. The skin splits open along the back, and the caterpillar crawls out in a new and larger coat, showing two little black horns on the back at each end of the body, each pair pointing outward. This task accomplished, the caterpillar eats on until it must stop for another moulting. In about three weeks it is full-grown, about two inches in length, and is a gay fellow, of a lemon or greenish-yellow, conspicuously banded with black and white.

He is a bold and fearless fellow, as Mr. Comstock says: "They are smug-looking caterpillars, and flaunt their gay stripes without any attempt to hide, for they seem to know that the birds will not touch them." Its youthful black horns have grown long and slender, and are used as whip-lashes to keep off those misguided female insects that might wish to lay eggs on his back. He has no desire to become the larder of a set of hungry young caterpillars of the ichneumon-fly tribe.

His gay colors advertise him to the birds as the species to be left severely alone, as a most vile-tasting, acrid, nauseous mouthful. A bird that has once tried to eat a monarch caterpillar never tries it again. For in the caterpillar stage, as in the adult form, this insect is able to secrete a most ill-tasting, blistering fluid that birds cannot endure.

When full-grown, the caterpillar becomes restless, and begins seeking out some place where he can hang himself up in peace and quiet and safety for about two weeks. Sometimes he merely moves down on a lower, larger, and uneaten leaf; sometimes he leaves its host plan and seeks out a bush, a fence-post, board, stump, log, or woodpile.

In the more or less protected and concealed site he has chosen, he spins a little tuft of silk on some projecting surface, beneath an oblique branch, a level plane, or the under side of a leaf. He entangles the two feet on the extreme hind-end of his body in this tiny silk "button," lets go with the fourteen legs down the middle of his body, and hangs head downward. In about twenty-four hours the skin splits open along the back and shrinks upward around his two hind feet, revealing a soft-bodied creature considerably different in appearance from his former caterpillar likeness.

The newly-formed pupa, or chrysalis, must now get rid of its cast-off skin, still anchored by those two hind feet. Dr. C. V. Riley tells how this delicate task is performed without the chrysalis actually losing its foothold.

"The soft and supple chrysalis, yet showing the elongate larval form, hangs heavily from the shrunken skin. From this skin it is to be extricated and firmly attached to the silk button. It has neither legs nor arms, and we should suppose that it would inevitably fall while endeavoring to accomplish this object. But the task is performed with the utmost surety, though appearing so perilous to us.

"The supple and contracted joints of the abdomen are made to subserve the purpose of legs, and by suddenly grasping the shrunken larval skin between the folds of two of these joints as with a pair of pincers, the chrysalis disentangles the tip of its body and hangs for a moment suspended from this bit of old skin. Then, with a few earnest, vigorous jerking movements, it succeeds in sticking the horny point of its tail into the silk, and securely fastening it by means of a rasp of minute claws with which the point is furnished. The moment the point is fastened, the chrysalis commences a series of violent jerkings and whirlings to dislodge the larval skin, after which it rests from its efforts and gradually contracts and hardens until it is a beautiful object, and as it hangs pendent from some old fence or board, it reminds one of some large ear-drop."

The chrysalis is about an inch long, plump, smooth, and rounded like a bit of polished stone, in the general outline of an acorn in its cup, being largest in the middle, where it is transversely ridged.

In color it is a bright pea-green, with a few black and gold spots and bands.

The pupal stage lasts from nine to fifteen days. For the first few days the wings are perfectly transparent, but about five days before the butterfly is ready to come forth the wings are covered with pure white, perfectly-formed scales. In about forty-eight hours the coloring pigment begins to develop, the parts of the wing that are to be colored turning a dirty yellow. In the next stage, the black has begun to appear in the central and outer part of the wing, the veins remaining white; then the dirty-yellow ground-color deepens to a red-brown, and the black appears along the edges of the veins. Finally the black veins are complete and the tawny-orange is rich and deep.

When the fully-formed butterfly bursts from its chrysalis, it is that well-known tawny and black creature with a wing spread of four inches, and with a vitality which makes it the longest liver of any of its tribe, in the adult stage.

The amateur collector may find that one specimen has a black blotch on each hind wing, near the centre and beside a vein, while another specimen will not have this decoration. Mr. Comstock explains: "The male monarch is the dandy among butterflies *par excellence*. He is not only trig in figure and gorgeous in color, but on each hind wing he carries a black sachet bag for the allurement of his lady-love. And she is as brilliant as he, but lacks the perfume pockets."

The Monarch belongs to the family of brush-footed butterflies, in which the fore legs are atrophied to useless, little hairy, brush-like processes without tarsal claws on the feet; in both sexes these fore feet lie folded on the thorax, tippet-like, as Mr. Comstock describes them.

Monarch gets along well enough with two rather shriveled front-legs, possessing as he does such powerful wings. Even though Jack Frost gets many a Monarch during some sudden sally south, a sufficient number escape him and the perils of a semi-annual migration to keep the species abundant.

"Lazily flying
Over the flower-decked prairies, West;
Basking in sunshine till daylight is dying,
And resting at night in Asclepias' breast;
Joyously dancing,
Merrily prancing,

Chasing his lady love high in the air,
Fluttering gaily,
Frolicking daily,
Free from anxiety, sorrow, and care!"
—Dr. C. V. Riley ("To the Monarch Butterfly")

IV. ABOUT THE LEAF-MINERS.

You may know the Leaf-Miners by their work, for that is much more easily discovered than the insect itself. For leaves of various trees and shrubs often show white or grayish blotches, or long, twisted lines, or brownish, "blister"-like spots—the abiding places of certain tiny burrowing and feeding caterpillars of the Tineid tribe of insects. To quote Mr. Comstock:

"Surely Mr. Lowell must have had these in mind when he wrote:

" 'And there's never a leaf nor a blade too mean
To be some happy creature's palace.'

"Not only are very many kinds of plants infested by them, but the mines in the leaves differ greatly in form and in their position in the leaf. These differences in food-plant and in the shape and position of the mines do not indicate that these larvæ are inconstant in their habits. In fact, the opposite is the case. Each species infests a particular species of plant, or, at the most, several closely allied plants. And each species makes a mine of definite shape, although some species exhibit different habits in the different stages of their growth. So constant are these creatures in their habits that in most cases an expert can determine the species of Tineid that made a mine by merely examining the infested leaf.

"The various kinds of mines can be classed under a few distinct types. The long, narrow and more or less winding mines are described as *linear mines*. Some of these are very narrow at their beginning and gradually enlarge, resembling in outline a serpent; frequently the larger end is terminated by a blotch-like enlargement, suggesting a head. Such mines are termed *serpentine mines*. The leaves of the wild columbine are often marked by serpentine mines. Other mines that start from a narrow beginning enlarge more rapidly and extend in a more or less regular curve; these are *trumpet mines*. The mines of many species are mere disk-like blotches; these are referred to as *blotch mines*. Blotch mines differ in position; some are immediately beneath the upper epidermis, while others are nearer the lower surface of the leaf. This distinction exists also in most of the other types of mines. In some

of the blotch mines the epidermis of one side of the leaf is thrown into a fold by the growth of the leaf; these are *tentiform mines.* In addition to peculiarities in shape, many mines are marked by characteristic lines or spots composed of the droppings of the larva."

Of all the Moth Tribes, none are more richly ornamented, in proportion to their size, than these minute moths. For instance, as one writer describes a certain miner of the alder-leaf: "The upper wings shone and glittered most gloriously with crescents of gold, silver and brown, surrounded by borders of delicate black. They are tiny miracles of nature, in little." But they are so small that it is necessary to examine them with a magnifying glass to appreciate, or even see, their full beauty.

As for the Miner, the moth in the caterpillar stage, one anonymous old writer says that though he "holds his verdant estate by the slight tenure of a fragile foot-stalk, his lot seems a highly favored one. His path, a covered way, is through a leaf, often of the rose; and each step of progression (for labor he has none) would seem an act of self-gratification, as the little Sybarite, lodged between the upper and the lower membranes of the leaf, eats onwards through its soft green pulp, from the point whence he issued from the egg even to that which terminates his caterpillar career.

"Thus eating and progressing, he produces, by removal of the excavated pulp, a visible track, appearing on the leaf's surface like a broad, white tortuous line, with a dark one running through its centre. This has been compared to a valley watered by a winding stream—a 'happy valley,' we may well suppose it, to its little solitary inhabitant, because, unlike the Abyssinian prince, he knows no wish to leave it. And truly, as we have said, the leaf-mining caterpillar would seem to have drawn a prize in the lottery or allotment of insect life, inasmuch, at least, as his covered position serves as a defense from various perils and enemies to which some of his brethren are openly exposed, and from which others are only protected by laborious exertion of mechanical skill.

"On first waking into life, the leaf-miner finds himself, through the exercise of maternal care instinctively and prospectively employed, placed on the surface of his green patrimony—the leaf exactly suited to his appetite, into the depths of which (a depth comprised within the thickness of a sheet of paper) he at once plunges—pursues, for his appointed span, his safe and luxurious way—then, in a quiet little plain or dell, which forms the termination of his 'happy valley,' passes the period of his aurelian slumber, to emerge

thence a minute moth, one of the most brilliant and beautiful of nature's miniature gems, wanting only augmented size to vie with the diamond-beetle and the humming-bird in metallic lustre."

One of the Blotch Miners is found on the oak leaf. It started life as a tiny egg laid on the upper surface of the leaf, which in a few days hatched into a little caterpillar not quite a sixteenth of an inch in length, which burrowed through the thin tissue of the leaf surface and at once began feeding upon the green pulp cells beneath.

As it fed, it formed a hollow cavity in which it could turn about, until when full grown it had made a whitish blotch in the upper side of the leaf, irregular in size and shape, but approximating a rude rectangle about half an inch wide and an inch in length—say from the midrib of the leaf out almost to the edge of a lobe, and mined between two veins.

Often there is more than one mine in a leaf, and there may be a dozen, in which latter case the leaf generally dies an untimely death, all its green flesh having been transformed into caterpillars.

Every few days the miner must moult, until at the age of two weeks he has shed his skin five or six times, and is a flattened worm about one-fifth of an inch in length, having a row of shiny plates along the back, only the faintest rudiments of feet, but a pair of jaws well adapted to cutting and chewing. It is of a tadpole shape rather than the usual cylindrical form, until after the seventh moult, then it becomes the same thickness all the way from head to tail, and takes on a round tube appearance. After this seventh moult there are fourteen well-developed feet, larger eyes, and a more generally caterpillarish appearance.

Thereupon the caterpillar ceases to eat or to mine, having other business on hand. This is the spinning of a thin silk covering over one end of the floor of the mine, a delicate, semi-transparent, circular sheet of white floss forming a sort of cocoon.

Beneath this the larva takes its place, sheds once more, and is a dark-brown pupa with a toothed crest on the top of its head, the saw by which it will cut its way out of the cocoon when, after a week or so the insect is ready to change into a moth. Before shedding this brown pupa skin, therefore, the Leaf-Miner first saws its way out of the cocoon and through the leaf-skin of its mine. The brown pupa covering then cracks open and the moth emerges from skin, cocoon and mine, into the outside air.

It is a delicate sprite, with wings mainly fringe, and measuring

but about a fourth of an inch from tip to tip when spread wide. The forewings are white, with three broad, irregular, bronze bands across each, each band lined with black on the inner side. The hind wings resemble two silver rods with fringed edges, the fringe longest next the body.

There are several broods during the summer, the last brood in the fall wintering within the mines in the last, cylindrical, larval stage, pupating early in the spring. The best way, therefore, or at least a good way, to check its ravages when it becomes a pest is to rake up and burn such leaves.

The puckered appearance of many leaves having dry, brownish patches on them is caused by the Tent-Miners, such as those living on the apple, pear, wild cherry and quince foliage. One certain tentiform mine is made by a tiny light yellow caterpillar only a fifth of an inch in length when full-grown, which makes a small mine about half an inch long on the lower surface of the leaf, which causes a slight crumpling of the leaf, thus giving the mine a tent-like appearance. From the upper surface the mine has a spotted appearance due to the caterpillar's not mining out the whole interior, but eating a little here and there in the mine. The mines are finished in September, the caterpillars transform to pupæ therein, and the winter is passed in this stage on the fallen leaves. The minute moths which emerge in the spring have golden brown forewings marked with white streaks and spots, and a black eye at each tip. It is a European species quite common on apple leaves in the Eastern States.

Another Tent-Miner also found on the apple and related trees is a grayish caterpillar about one-fourth of an inch in length with a row of six black spots across the head and four larger ones across the first segment of the body. These caterpillars make larger mines, and eat out the whole interior except the veinlets, so that the mine appears brownish but not spotted on the upper surface. When nearly full-grown the caterpillars leave their mines, and rolling over the edge of the leaf feed beneath for a short time, then line these retreats heavily with a silken cocoon within which they pupate. There are several broods each season. The tiny, dark, steel-gray moths emerge in the spring, and measure only one-third of an inch across the expanded wings.

There is also an Apple-Leaf Trumpet Miner, the most common and destructive of the insects making mines in apple leaves. The brown, blister-like, trumpet-shaped mine is about half an inch in

length and is always made just beneath the skin on the upper side of the leaf, being scarcely noticeable from the underside unless the leaf is held to the light, when it appears of a lighter shade of green.

These mines begin at the point where the tiny, elliptical, greenish-yellow, disk-like, iridescent eggs are laid, the tiny caterpillars entering the leaf beneath the edge of the eggshell. The mines continue for a short distance as a narrow line, gradually growing wider, and then often suddenly expanding into a broad blotch mine of a balloon, or trumpet, or tadpole outline. The first half of the mine is usually crossed by several crescent-shaped stripes of white.

The full-grown caterpillars are flat-bodied, about one-fifth of an inch long, without legs, of a light-green color except for the brown head. In the North there are two broods of this miner annually, the first brood of caterpillars working in June and July and the second in August and September. Four broods have been observed in the latitude of Washington, the mines being made in May, July, August and September. The life-cycle of a generation is about thirty-three days.

The larva grows slowly and casts its skin occasionally. The excrement is deposited without the mine through one or more openings which are situated at one end and on the lower surface of the mine. The upper and lower surface of the mine is densely lined with silvery-white silk, and within these clean and comfortable quarters the larva passes the winter.

Early in spring it changes to a pupa within the mine, making no cocoon. A fortnight later the pupa pushes part way through the upper surface of the mine, cracks along the top, and the moth emerges, a minute winged creature with shining dark-brown front wings, tinged with purplish and dusted with pale yellowish scales that measure across when fully expanded only about a fourth of an inch. The broods emerging in the summer pupate without the silk lining.

Sometimes the mines are so numerous as to involve much of the leaf, which curls and finally drops two or three weeks earlier than usual, thus preventing the full development of the fruit and reducing the vitality of the tree. Sixty-eight caterpillars have been found working on a single leaf.

The apple tree often harbors a serpentine leaf-miner, a tiny, dark, emerald-green caterpillar about one-tenth of an inch long. It makes a narrow, tortuous or serpentine mine, often two inches in length and less than a sixteenth of an inch wide, just beneath the upper

surface of the leaves of the apple and pear. The first half or two-thirds of the mine is broader and nearly filled with a continuous zigzagging thread of black excrement. In October the tiny green caterpillars are sometimes seen hanging by silken threads from the leaves. They soon find their way to the twigs, where they spin small, oval, dense, brown cocoons about one-eighth of an inch long on the bark, often in a crotch. In May the caterpillars transform through brilliant green pupæ to the minute, shining, purplish-black moths with tufted, reddish-yellow heads that emerge in June.

Serpentine Leaf-Miners of different species are found on the hazel, the buttonwood, Juneberry and other trees. A nut leaf containing from twenty to thirty larvæ is no unusual sight. The mine is always on the upper surface, and varies much in form, being sometimes a slender gallery or line, either simple or enlarged towards the end into a head-like blotch. When the larva is full-fed it quits the mine, sometimes cutting for pupating purposes the mined loose skin, to add to the cocoon. The moths are very small, but excessively beautiful, resplendent with burnished copper, gold and silver scales. They may be seen in May and June, perched on tree trunks, palings, and so on, but to discover these atoms requires an experienced and keen eye.

The resplendent Shield-Bearer is not merely a miner, but a sac wearer, also. The name refers both to the brilliantly colored moth, and the shield, or sac, the caterpillar makes for its later days. The moth is a tiny one, but a perfect gem, with a golden-dusted head, fore wings of a resplendent light slate gray lustre on the inner half, and beyond bright orange, enclosing two white bands that almost meet in the centre, then a black velvet patch ending in black fringe. Once out of the egg, the caterpillar makes an irregular dark-colored blotch-mine; when full-grown it lines a portion of the mine with silk, deftly cuts out both leaf and silk, and binding the edges together with silk, wriggles into this straight jacket and walks off as if it had been born with this shield on its back.

Like a boy walking on his hands and with a meal-sack draped around his uplifted legs, the little caterpillar pokes its head out of its case, extends its six fore legs like so many hands, and pulls itself along over the leaf. Soon it is ready to seek a safe place to spend the pupa state, or even the winter, if it be a second crop caterpillar. So spinning a silken string it drops from the leaf, and reaches the bark, a twig, or the ground, where it attaches itself firmly.

It does not desert its case, but hangs it by a few threads to the bark of the tree. These curious little oval disk-shaped, seed-like yellowish cases only about a tenth of an inch long may often be found attached to the bark of apple, pear, quince, thorn-apple and wild cherry trees, by a silken button at one end. The hibernating brood comes out in May; their offspring in July. In serious outbreaks of this pest, the bark of the trunk and larger branches will be fairly covered with hibernating cases, forty-seven having been counted on a spot not larger than a dime.

The Ribbed Cocoon-Maker is the fabricator of those small but conspicuous whitish, distinctly ribbed cocoons about the length of a grain of rice but slenderer, often found in large numbers in autumn closely packed on the underside of the smaller branches of certain trees. *Bucculatrix* is the entomological name of the genus, with species choosing the apple, the oak, and a few other kinds of foliage.

The moth is only about a tenth of an inch in length, and is of a general light-brown color with front wing markings of dark brown. The eggs are laid on the upper surface of the leaf, and in about a week they hatch into minute caterpillars that burrow into the leaf, where they burrow narrow mines in serpentine fashion. But after about a week of tunnelling, the caterpillar comes out and makes a moulting cocoon—a round smear of silk under which the skin is shed.

Says Mr. Comstock: "Stretched out on this network the larva, which is now about one-tenth inch long, makes a small hole in it near its edge, then, as one would turn a somersault, it puts its head into this hole and disappears beneath the silken covering, where it undergoes a change of skin. It remains in the moulting cocoon usually less than twenty-four hours. After leaving this cocoon it feeds upon the leaves without making a mine; and in a few days makes a second moulting cocoon which differs from the first only in being larger. After leaving this it again feeds for a few days, and then migrates to a twig where it makes the long ribbed cocoon within which the pupa state is passed."

It requires three or four hours to build one of these ribbed cocoons, and the pupal stage lasts from one to two weeks in the summer cocoons, most of the moths emerging by August first. In migrating from leaf to bark, the caterpillars often merely hang suspended from the leaves by silken cables until the wind blows them to a suitable landing place. The cocoons are made firmly *in situ,* and

would never fall from the bark; if the pests are numerous the transformation chambers will need to be scraped from the tree.

Though the apple tree is a special favorite of several kinds of leaf miners, the tribe by no means limits itself to this one tree. Many plants, cultivated and uncultivated, form leafy worlds for these infinitesimal beings. Even the pine does not escape.

Mr. Comstock describes the work of this particular miner: "It often happens that the ends of the leaves of pine present a dead and brown appearance that is due to the interior of the leaf having been eaten out. At the right season it is easy to see the long, slender larva in its snug retreat by holding a leaf up to the light and looking through it; and later the pupa can be seen in the same way. Near the lower end of the tunnel in each leaf there is a round hole through which the larva entered the leaf, and from which the adult emerges. We have found this insect in several of the stouter-leaved species of pine, but never in the slender leaves of the white pine. In the North it is most abundant in the leaves of the pitch-pine."

Mines on the surface of a leaf offer interesting reading-matter to those who care to study what the busy jaws have written. Often the miner can be found at work, or perhaps he will have ceased feeding and transformed to a small light-brown pupa. Or the mine may be abandoned, and the cocoon found clinging to the bark of the home plant or one growing nearby, according to where the wind wafted the swaying caterpillar. Or the mine may be empty because one of the many parasitic flies that prey on these tiny insects may have found the mine, stabbed through it and into the miner with her egg-laying stiletto, and left a bit of life there to mine the miner.

It is an interesting experiment to make a collection of mined leaves in the fall, and watch developments.

V. HYACINTH AND HYACINTHUS.

"When the young hyacinth returns to seek
The air and sunshine with her emerald beak."
—O. W. Holmes

It may be very early in the year indeed; so early it is late, in fact, as I have seen them in shop windows and in homes blooming for Christmas. This is, of course, from the bulbs planted in water, but from the standpoint of the flowers alone, is quite as satisfactory a way to grow them as any. Authority says that "when used

for flowering in water, the water should be kept fresh and pure in the bulb glasses; and when the bulbs are first inserted, the glass should be put in some cool, dark place to promote the growth of the fibrous roots, without a strong supply of which the blossoms are worthless. This process, however, is so unnatural that the plant is destroyed at the end of the flowering. It will be found preferable to select the earliest and single kinds for such purposes, as they always do better than the double sorts."

This advice, though coupled with the warning that the bulb will surely be destroyed if allowed to flower in water, is enough to fill us with a desire to have a dish of hyacinths in blossom the winter through; let the florists raise more blubs—that's their business, ours is to enjoy the sweet, fresh, fragrant flowers:

> "Hyacinths with their graceful bells,
> Where the spirit of odor dwells,
> Like the spirit of music in ocean shells."
> —Letitia E. Landon ("The Bayadere")

Botanically, the true Hyacinths are members of the Lily Family, as their general build indicates. They form a large genus of plants, called *Hyacinthus,* distinguished from their other lily relatives by the bell-shaped corolla with the tube portion more prominent than the flare. Without exception they are natives of the Old World. Though such a simple plant in gesture and structure, it is plainly an exotic. We have nothing quite like it native to America; though we do have a so-called "wild hyacinth," it is not a *hyacinthus.* The common hyacinth is *Hyacinthus orientalis,* though the Roman one, *H. albulus,* is almost as popular.

> "Mark the sweet lines whose matchless ovals curl
> Above the fragile stem's half-shrinking grace,
> And say if this pure hyacinth doth not seem
> (Touched by enchantments of an antique dream)
> A flower no more, but the low, drooping face
> Of some love-laden, fair Athenian girl?"
> —Paul H. Hayne ("The Hyacinth")

> "And thy most lovely purple perfume, Zante!
> Isola d'oro! Fior di Levante!"
> —Edgar Allan Poe ("Al Aaraaf")

To the Dutch is conceded the merit of improving its qualities; they were first acquainted with it in the beginning of the sixteenth century. About 1700 some seven or eight varieties were

known in England; it is said that in 1712 the Haarlem florists had over two thousand varieties, at which time their bulbs formed a most valuable branch of their commerce. The "Fior di Levante" is no longer limited to the Orient, but thanks to Dutch brains has been carried from the Levant to the very outposts of civilization.

A good hyacinth, according to the florist's idea, is one having a strong, tall, erect stem, supporting numerous flowers in such a manner that the whole may have a compact pyramidal form, with the crown, or uppermost flower, perfectly erect; the flowers should be large and perfectly double, appearing to the eye rather convex in the centre; the colors should be clear and bright, whether plain red, white, or blue, or variously intermixed and diversified. Strong bright colors are in general preferred.

The usual colors of the hyacinth are blue, both pale and dark, red, rosy, crimson, straw-colored or yellowish, called golden, and pure white. There is as great a difference in the readiness with which they flower as there is in the beauty, grace or even splendor of their blossoms. In cultivating the several varieties, it is well to consult the different floricultural treatises in which their several merits are set forth.

The hyacinth grows readily from the seeds; they are sown in October, after they have ripened, or in the following March. The new plants usually flower in about six years from the time of sowing. Their cultivation is simple and easy, requiring essentially a soil of sandy loam and vegetable mound two feet deep; the bulbs should be planted early enough in October to insure a good supply of fibrous roots before the winter; the beds thus prepared and planted should be protected with leaves, which are to be carefully taken away in the spring when the plants issue from the earth. Some sort of protection from the rain and sun is well, as very warm weather in May is apt to injure the blooming.

The hyacinth does well in the house, if the bulbs are placed in large, deep pots in good soil in November and kept cool in the cellar until the next February, then brought into the light and warmth. Such bulbs are of little value, however, for another season's use.

The hyacinth as seen in cultivation is of two sorts, the single and the double flowered. The single hyacinth is preferable in many respects, as it flowers earlier, and its blossoms or bells are sweeter-scented and more regular in shape. The double greatly vary in

size and number of perianth segments, and some are in this respect of extraordinary beauty.

Of course the plant would be popular with the poets. There is the item of color, so diversified; one poet, in finding comparisons for the Corn-Bluebottle, sees it, "Blue as hyacinth, blithe as iris." On the other hand, some hyacinths are a decided corn-flower blue:

"Dark hyacinth, of late whose blushing beams
Made all the neighboring herbs and grass rejoice."
—William Drummond

One always thinks of the hyacinth as being blue, so that in the following lines that is the touch the poet his given his sunset by tucking in one of these blossoms:

"How bravely Autumn paints upon the sky
The gorgeous fame of Summer which is fled!
Hues of all flowers that in their ashes lie,
Trophied in that fair light whereon they fed,
Tulip, and hyacinth, and sweet rose red." —Thomas Hood

Other lines paint the perianth in this favorite color, which caused Burns to make it the emblem of fidelity.

"Now the shy hyacinth that earliest blooms
Brings down the blue of heaven." —Anon. ("Early Spring")

"The cone-beaked hyacinth returns
To light her blue-flamed chandelier."
—Holmes ("Spring Has Come")

Browning has described one of the pale yellow ones in such a pleasing manner one longs to go right out and gather such a spray to enjoy:

"As if aloft
Yon hyacinth, she loves so, leaned its staff's
Burden of honey-colored buds to kiss
And capture 'twixt the lips apart for this." —("A Face")

Neither have the pink and the white been forgotten:

"The hyacinth in tender pink outvies
Beauty's soft cheek." —Nicholas Michell

"Nor hyacinths, of purest virgin white,
Low bent, and blushing inward." —James Thomson

Another detail worthy of poetical comment, and receiving it, is the sweet perfume the waxy petals exhale:

"On sunny banks their wine the hyacinths spill,
And self-betraying violets bloom thereunder."
—Bayard Taylor ("Sorrento")

"And the hyacinth purple, and white, and blue,
Which flung from its bells a sweet peal anew,
Of music so delicate, soft, and intense,
It was felt like an odor within the sense." —Shelley

Then there is the shape of the blossom, tubular and flared:

"And the buds which danced in merry measure
To the chiming of the hyacinth's bell?"
—Susan Coolidge ("April")

"Then tenderly ringing old Winter's knell,
The hyacinth swung its soundless bell."
—Alfred Austin ("The Coming of Spring")

The rolled-back tips of the perianth have given the poet a particularly pleasing bit of personification:

"Here hyacinths of heavenly blue
Shook their rich tresses to the morn." —James Montgomery

"Her clustering curls the hyacinth displays." —Holmes

"The dark hyacinth,
To which Hafez compares his mistress' hair."
—Thomas Moore ("Lalla Rookh")

"The hyacinths of waving, dusky hair."
—Togray ("The Vale of Kashmeer")

"Let these hyacinth boughs
Be his long, flowing hair,
And wave o'er his brows
As thou wavest in air!" —Lord Byron

Not least of its many virtues is its early blooming, which the poets have placed in the several spring months:

"And March his stormy trumpet blew,
And tender green came peeping through,
I loved the earliest one to seek
That broke the soil with emerald beak,
And watch the trembling bells so blue
Spread on the column as it grew.

. . . . .

The hyacinth my garden gave
Shall lie upon that Roman grave!"
—Holmes ("After a Lecture on Keats")

"The honeysuckles lace the wall,
The hyacinths grow fair and tall."
—Elizabeth Akers Allen ("In April")

"Shaded hyacinths, alway
Sapphire queen of the mid-May." —John Keats ("Fancy")

In the language of flowers, the white hyacinth speaks of "unob-

trusive loveliness," the light-blue of "playful fancy," but the purple emblematic of sorrow, is

> "The melancholy Hyacinth, that weeps
> All night, and never lifts an eye all day."

One old writer, in describing a charnel house, makes it "strewed with wither'd hyacinths." The blue hyacinth, in the calendar of flowers, is dedicated to St. Dorothy, which may be why crowns of these chaste blossoms are worn by young Greek virgins at the weddings of their friends, and by the brides themselves. Though it is also a funeral flower, according to the rhyme:

> "And so we ring a change upon these bells
> And now of death and now of love it tells."

It is one of the blossoms suitable to place upon the graves of maidens, as it was worn by them in life, and this idea is brought out by the German poet Oehlenschlager in his poem, "The Tragedy of Correggio":

> "Yet here, amid the grass,
> I shall paint one pale hyacinth. That flower,
> When beauteous maidens die, adorns their tomb,
> For me the lovely form of Hope has now
> Declined in death; and for her sake shall I,
> For the last time, here plant one flower!"

The hyacinth of the present day, though by both its English and generic names entitled to the honor, cannot trace its origin to Hyacinthus, that famous youth of Greek tragedy. It is not "the classic hyacinth steeped in dew," as one poet calls it, though some of these less classic poets would make it so.

According to the myth, Hyacinthus was the son of the Spartan king Amyclas and of Diomede, though some versions make his parents Pierus and Clio, or even Oebalus and Eurotas. He was a boy of great beauty and the favorite of Apollo, and was also beloved by Zephyrus, who from jealousy caused his death as he was playing quoits with Apollo, by blowing the discus of the sun god against the youth's head. From his blood Apollo, or Phœbus, caused the flower hyacinth to grow.

> "pitying the sad death
> Of Hyacinthus, when the cruel breath
> Of Zephyr slew him,—Zephyr penitent,
> Who now, ere Phœbus mounts the firmament,
> Fondles the flower amid the sobbing rain." —Keats

"And Hyacinth, long since a fair youth seen,
Whose tuneful voice, turned fragrance in his breath,
Kissed by sad Zephyr, guilty of his death." —Thomas Hood

Hyacinthus, doubtless, represents the summer vegetation scorched to death by the summer sun. In Greek religious rites, the Hyacinthus was a three-days' festival held in midsummer in honor of this event. It was one of the most important festivals of the Peloponnesus, its chief centre being Amyclæ, Hyacinthus being the son of the Spartan king Amyclas. The festival began with mourning for the death of Hyacinthus and ended with rejoicing for his rebirth.

Now the plant fabled to have sprung from the blood of the youth is not determined; the letters h-y-a-c-i-n-t-h are used only as transliterating or representing the Greek or Latin word of the vegetable, and in no wise implies any member of the modern genus *Hyacinthus*. Rather, the present-day hyacinth is rejected altogether. Some authorities suppose the fabled hyacinth to be the Turk's-Cap Lily, others take it to be the iris, the larkspur, or the gladiolus.

One mark of identification is the fact that upon the petals of the classic flower appear the Greek exclamation of woe, AI, AI, AY, or the Greek letter beginning the youth's name. So it is pretty poetry, but not good mythology when the poet writes of the present-day hyacinth:

"Come, hyacinths, chime your sapphire bells,
Toll *ai ai* no more."
—Elizabeth M. Johnstone ("A Spring Song")

Meleager, in his "Anthology," includes Alcæus' hyacinth, that speaks to bards," which may be any one of the four plants named as the fabled one. It would seem that in one respect our present hyacinth would qualify, and that is in its ringlets, which was the fashionable male headdress in Hyacinthus' time:

"Drooping grace unfurls
Still Hyacinthus' curls."
—Leigh Hunt ("Chorus of the Flowers")

It may be reflected glory from the legend that our purple hyacinth is made to speak of sorrow:

"Dost love sweet hyacinth? Its scented leaf
Curls manifold,—all love's delights blow double;
'Tis said this floweret is inscribed with grief,—
But let that hint of a forgotten trouble." —Thomas Hood

As for the marks of woe inscribed on the classic blossom, the hyacinth of Homer must have been something other than our plain-petaled one; if the Turk's-Cap Lily, it would be marked sufficiently to meet any myth-maker's demands.

"Hyacinth, thy woes thy bosom's marks declare."
—Angelo Poliziano

"The heart's blood am I of expiring strength,
Engraved on mine urn is its cry.
My dark glowing pangs, to thee are they known?"
—Per D. A. Atterbom ("The Hyacinth")

But all the pros and cons over the identity of Homer's hyacinth, why its marks of wail and what they say, is immaterial, if, as Lord Houghton complains, there is such a woeful lack of interest in Greek mythology that

"Hyacinth dwells no more in his brilliant abode, and the stranger
Reads the memorial signs he has left with a stolid amazement."

In that case, Hyacinthus should be glad to have his name and even some points of his legend kept in memory even by a spurious blossom, thankful that such a charmingly lovely and fragrant number of them make his name no dead, forgotten bit of Greek, but a well-known household word.

HARRIETTE WILBUR.

Duluth, Minn.

Book Reviews

"St. John Berchmans." By Hippolyte Delehaye, S. J. Translated from the French by Rev. Henry C. Semple, S. J. 12mo. pp. 189. New York: Benziger Brothers.

"St. John Berchmans." The story of the Saint of Innocence. By James J. Daly, S. J. 12mo. pp. 191. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.

It is seldom that two lives of the same saint appear at the same time, but there is a reason for it; in fact, several reasons. First, we are celebrating the tercentenary of the saint's death; secondly, only one of the two is original, the other being a translation; and thirdly, the subject is worthy of so much attention and more. The books are about equal in size, draw their material from the same authentic sources, present equally excellent portraits, and differ only in details.

St. John was a Jesuit scholastic who did ordinary things well. Indeed, as his biographer says, his many little everyday duties were much the same as those of all Christians. His sanctity consisted in doing them with a constancy and unflinching courage inspired by an uncommon love for God and his neighbor. But he never tired of trying to perfect them. Hence he applied everything that he heard and saw to himself: the words and acts of others were all used as guides for his own conduct; he imitated those that were good and avoided those that were bad or less perfect. One of his principal maxims was, "Something little but constant." Another one was, "My chief penance will be our common duties." He tells us that his treasure consists in three things: "My crucifix, my beads and my rules are the three things most dear to me. With them I will willingly die."

How very unlike the youth of the present day, who must have a new thrill every moment, who abhor the commonplace and who despise all rules as if they were the chains of slavery. What a pity we cannot bring St. John Berchmans to the attention of every boy and girl in the land. What a splendid model he would be for the university and the college. How sadly they are in need of standards like unto his. At least we ought to be able to enter him on the rolls of all our Catholic seminaries, colleges and convent schools. If we could induce our boys and girls and young men and women

to model their lives on his, the future for the Church in this country would be much brighter and the hope for the country itself much stronger.

"An Epitome of the Priestly Life." By Canon Arvisnet. Adapted from the Latin original, "Memoriale Vitae Sacerdotalis," by Rev. F. J. O'Sullivan, with frontispiece. Oblong, 24mo., Morocco grain, imitation leather, flexible covers, round corners, gold edges, net, $3.50. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Claude Arvisenet, Canon and Vicar General of the Diocese of Troyes, was born in the year 1755 in the City of Langres. After some years of pastoral labor he was, in common with many of his clerical confrères, banished from his native country by the Revolutionists. He sought refuge in Lucerne, Switzerland, where he devoted his time to the writing of spiritual works. Of all his books, however, the "Memoriale Vitae Sacerdotalis' became his masterpiece. It was first printed in 1794 and subsequently ran through many editions. Pope Pius VII., then reigning, bestowed upon it highest praise, and it became the text-book in many Seminaries, notably that of Maynooth.

It might well be called the "Priest's Imitation of Christ," for it is written in the same style as that work, and is akin to it in its unction, piety and wealth of scriptural allusion. Our busy priests will revel in its crisp, cogent, meaty paragraphs. Covering as it does the whole range of dogmatic, moral and disciplinary matter which pertains to the priesthood, it will prove serviceable alike for meditation, spiritual reading and particular examen of conscience, and will be truly a precious "Vade Mecum" for the priest.

The translator has, in this English version, preserved all the charm, terseness and vigor of the original to the utmost extent of the possibilities of our language. Beautifully printed in large type, on good quality of paper agreeable to the eyes, and substantially bound, its portable form in the size of a pocket breviary will allow of its convenient use at any time.

This book has been well known in the original Latin throughout the countries of Europe for going on two centuries, although it has gone out of print from time to time, and has been more or less forgotten at certain periods. It was even well known to an earlier generation of priests in this country who brought it with them from the old countries and always held it in the highest reverence. It is practically unknown to clerics of the present generation, although

they may have many other excellent books, and more exhaustive libraries perhaps than their predecessors. But books are often distracting things, and when eaten too freely or indiscriminately, they produce mental indigestion. Besides, the man who gets his principles sound, and then reasons things out for himself will certainly get more out of his reading than one who simply devours the thoughts of others ad infinitum.

The "Memoriale Vitae Sacerdotalis" is a book of this kind: it is fundamental and thought-provoking. We like the Latin name better, and respectfully suggest that in future editions it be placed before the other.

"The Word of God." By Monsignor Borgondini Duca, S. T. D., Secretary of Extraordinary Affairs of the Vatican. Translated by Rev. Francis J. Spellman, Holy Cross Cathedral, Boston. 12mo., pp. 211. New York: The Macmillan Co.

This book is a series of short meditations for every Sunday in the year and some of the holy days. The Gospel read in the Mass comes first, then a short meditation, and finally, the lesson or instruction drawn from the text. Sometimes the Gospel of a proximate feast is substituted for the Sunday Gospel, and during Lent the Gospels of the Ferials are sometimes used.

These explanations of the holy Gospels were first edited in weekly pamphlets which were published in Rome by the "Society of St. Jerome for the diffusion of the Gospel." They appeared from the first Sunday of Lent, 1919, until Quinquagesima Sunday, 1920. They were afterwards published in book form under the title of "The Word of God." One hundred and twenty thousand copies have already been published. Now they appear in English and they should be as popular in this new dress as they were in the old. The author does not attempt to explain the whole Gospel, but he picks out the leading thought in it and dwells on that, sometimes referring to the lesson of the day also, and in this manner he endeavors to get his readers to catch the spirit of the occasion. The conclusion is generally drawn from the life of some saint who practiced in a special manner the virtue which the occasion calls for.

The catechism tells us that it is not enough only to hear Mass on Sunday in order to keep it holy, but that we should also make use of other exercises of piety, practice works of mercy both spiritual and corporal, and read good books. Here is a good book for Sunday reading. If it were kept in the family and perused after

having attended Mass, and heard a sermon or instruction, it would supplement the living word, and make it more fruitful.

"Jesus Christ, the King of Our Hearts. Elevations on the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus." By Very Rev. Alexis M. Lepicier, O. S. M., Consultor of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation. 12mo., pp. 264. New York: Benziger Brothers.

The author tells us that the occasion of this book was an invitation to preach a sermon on the Sacred Heart in one of the monasteries of his community. A statue had been erected and was being blessed to commemorate the consecration of local families to the Sacred Heart. The preparation of that sermon led to study and meditation, from which the thirty chapters of this book, which might be called thirty sermons, sprang. "The first thought which devotion to the Sacred Heart suggests to our minds is that of infinite love on the part of our Divine Redeemer. It was this love which urged Him to give Himself entirely to us in his passion and death, as well as in the institution of the Blessed Sacrament of the altar." It seems equally manifest that while this devotion reminds us of the love of Jesus for us, it should also light up in our hearts flames of reciprocal love, which should show itself in the imitation of those virtues which distinguish the Sacred Heart—meekness, humility and charity. But to understand the full significance of this devotion, we must go further and consider the royal dignity and sovereignty of the Heart of Jesus over our hearts, which is fitly expressed in the phrase: "Heart of Jesus, King and Centre of all hearts."

The relationship between us and the Sacred Heart of Jesus is based on the fact that our Divine Redeemer has been set over us as King and Sovereign by His Eternal Father. Devotion to the Sacred Heart considered in this light includes all He did and suffered to gain His sway over our hearts. It sums up all we should do, as subjects to share in the fruits of Redemption.

This was the idea which the author sought to place before his audience in that first sermon, and which runs through all those that followed, and that make up the chapters of this book. As they are now arranged both in number and in form they serve excellently for instruction, spiritual reading and meditation during the month of June.

They are splendid, clear, devotional, instructive. In the multiplication of pious books there is sometimes distraction and weariness

for the reader, where there should be only attraction and refreshment. Too often we are tempted to think that even writers of good books may be swayed ever so slightly by vanity. It may be our own obtuseness or coldness that is responsible, but we humbly confess that we have read pious books without becoming more pious, although we thought we approached the task with the right disposition. How seldom can we say after much of our reading, that our hearts glowed within us while we read. And yet, we should be able to say so. Father Lepicier's book is that kind: it burns.

Institutiones Theologiæ Naturalis ad usum Scholarum accomodatæ, auctore Gulielmo J. Brosnan, S. J., Theologiæ Naturalis Professore in Collegio Maximo SS. Cordis Iesu, Woodstocki in Marylandi. 8 vo. pp. 396. Chicago: Typographia Loyolæa.

Apologetica, quam in usum auditorum suorum concinnavit Joannes T. Langan, S. J., apologeticæ in Collegio Maximo Woodstockensi Professor. 8vo., pp. 434. Chicago: Typographia Loyolæa.

It is a happy coincidence that these two excellent manuals should come from the press at the same time. They are both from the hands of members of the Society of Jesus who are teachers in their respective branches in famous old Woodstock, and they contain matter which has already been taught to the students of that college, and which is now arranged and published in book form not only for the use of future students of that college, but for the use of Catholic ecclesiastical students generally. We feel that we could hardly say more to recommend these books. Of course, it goes without saying that they are complete, up to date and orderly. We might perhaps add that the Latin is correct, yet simple, and that the typographical arrangement is the very best for enabling the student to grasp quickly the relative importance of the matter, and to remember the connection between the various parts.

The mechanical work is exceptionally good. It might be objected that the paper is unusually heavy, and that makes a heavy book, but it also gives a perfectly opaque page and a wearing quality that is very desirable for a class book that is handled much and used hard.

It may be said without hesitation that these books may be adopted by any college, and that the results for both teacher and pupil will be most satisfactory.

"The Mythology of All Races," in thirteen volumes. Louis Herbert Gray, A. M., Ph. D., editor. George Foote Moore, A. M., D. D., LL. D., consulting editor. Vol. XI., Latin-American. By Harkley Burr Alexander, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy, University of Nebraska. Large 8vo, pp. 424. Illustrated. Boston: Marshall Jones Co.

This book, like so many other enterprises, was delayed by the war. It was ready for the printer in 1916, but only now has come from the press. It covers a very interesting and important part of the field, with a special appeal to American students, and is in accord with the previous volume on the mythology of the North American Indians. The two books correspond in form and are continuous in matter.

A large section of the present volume is taken up with Mexico, which holds much interest for the student of American mythology.

The illustrations are splendidly done, while the type work and paper could not be better.

The editors and publishers are to be congratulated on the universal excellence of this important work, and it is to be hoped that the patronage will keep pace with their efforts.

"The Hope of the Future." By Edward E. Eagle. Forewords and messages by Hon. Warren G. Harding, Hon. David Lloyd George and others. 12mo., pp. 141. Boston: The Cornhill Publishing Co.

The author says: "I have ventured to issue in this volume my frank and fearless observations based upon five years of wandering up and down the earth. . . . Writing books is not my business and never will be; international commerce is; yet many friends, knowing of my wide field of observation, have urged me to be bold, and to present here what I have gleaned in travels that have led me from the fashionable resorts of Europe to the wilds of Borneo."

The hope of the author is that by writing down his impressions of peoples and places he may bring about a better understanding among the nations of the world and a better unity. Hence the title, "The Hope of the Future."

It might be called notes of a traveler or observations in passing, because it is not a technical book. It does not lay down a series of theses and try to prove them scholastically by citation of authorities. For that reason it is pleasanter reading, but not so valuable.

Mr. Eagle shows himself a keen observer, with a clear eye and a facile pen. The reader will follow him with pleasure and will get many impressions of many lands. He should also get the im-

pression that the differences of men and nations are due most of all, if not altogether, to misunderstandings, and if he can prevent these or remove them promptly we shall have peace.

"The 'Summa Theologica' of St. Thomas Aquinas." Second part of the Second Part. QQ. CXLI.-CLXX. Literally translated by Fathers of the English Dominican Province. 8vo, pp. 315. New York: Benziger Brothers.

When this English translation of the "Summa" was announced first, some persons doubted the wisdom of it, because the original work was so well known, had been so long in use and was itself so easily comprehensible that the necessity for a translation did not seem to be very great. Others doubted the likelihood of a satisfactory translation, because St. Thomas' phraseology is so distinctive that it is not easy to translate without sacrificing something of its value. Not a few persons feared that if the translation was undertaken it would not proceed promptly and consecutively to a conclusion, but that it would be abandoned because of the difficulties in the way and for lack of patronage.

It was not surprising that in view of all these considerations the work was discussed for a long time before it was undertaken.

Now it is a great pleasure to be able to say that all these fears were groundless. The translators are doing their work so well that they are preserving all the characteristics of the original, and are giving us a living St. Thomas. Too often a translated author dies in the process.

The simplicity and clearness of the English in this book is very remarkable. Not only the student who makes the acquaintance of the Angelic Doctor in this English dress for the first time will love him, but the student who has already known him in Latin will like him better. The work is progressing uninterruptedly and without any diminution of merit, and this is something to be thankful for because it is not common.

We hope the patronage is equal to the merits of the undertaking. It would be a great pity if such enterprise and worth should not be appreciated.

The present volume treats of temperance, meaning the cardinal virtue, of course, and not the restricted application of it to moderation in the use of intoxicants only.

"The Social Mission of Charity." By William J. Kerby, Professor of Sociology, The Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Price, $2.25. A volume in the Social Action Series of the National Catholic Welfare Council. New York: The Macmillan Co.

"The Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council have in preparation a series of volumes presenting Catholic teaching on the important social and industrial problems of the day. 'The Church and Labor,' by Father Ryan and Father Husslein has already appeared. The second volume in this important series is 'The Social Mission of Charity, a Study of Points of View in Catholic Charities,' by Rev. William J. Kerby, Ph. D., LL. D., professor of sociology in the Catholic University, Washington. Two other volumes dealing with charity are in preparation, and also a volume on Church and State.

"The creation of the Department of Social Action of the Council, according to Dr. Kerby, indicates efforts on the part of the Catholic Church in the United States to restate in as far as restatement is needed, her philosophy and policies toward national life in its exacting problems. The Department of Social Action of the Council represents efforts toward collective thinking and concerted action in respect of pressing social problems. This volume and others to follow represent the desire of the Department to study the relations of the Church to poverty and the bearing of our new insight into social conditions and processes on the principles and methods of Catholic charity. The Church aims to give and to receive in this exchange."

To this the author adds: "The scope of this volume limits its contents to a discussion of the general points of view in Catholic charities. On this account neither methods nor problems are treated in any detail. The plans of the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Council provide for a number of volumes relating to practical aspects of charities. They will appear as circumstances permit. Special bibliographies on problems and agencies are reserved to them. Since the social facts dealt with in a general way are beyond dispute, although interpretations vary, it did not seem necessary to weight the pages with expressive literary references. The author has endeavored to confine his interpretations to forms which may invite but little disagreement. Exposition rather than argument was aimed at throughout in the hope of making general appeal for thorough understanding of the wider mission of charity in social life."

How to help all the poor, how to help them most effectually, how to put an end to their poverty—these are the questions that

underlie all effort for social betterment. And before an answer can be gotten to these questions, others must be asked and answered: What is the cause of poverty, or rather the causes, what efforts have been made to remove them, and why have they failed? Finally, after we have solved all these problems, we are brought face to face with the question: Can we remedy the evil of poverty completely? And the answer is no, because the evil is also a blessing, and one of the most effective means to salvation.

"The Celestial Circus." By Cornelia Walter McCleary. 8 vo. pp. 89. Illustrated. Boston: The Cornhill Co.

Here is a jolly book for the children. Many of the poems in it have already been published in the magazines, but they are well worthy of repetition and perpetuation in permanent form.

The book takes its name from the first poem which tells us how the bear first took his place among the heavenly constellations. Then follow fifty-five other little stories in rhyme that will delight the hearts of little ones, and even make big ones smile—stories of all sorts of animals having all kinds of adventures, and passing through them as naturally as if they had full human equipment. There is even a story of a frog and a worm who were in the trenches during the late war, had a narrow escape from being gassed, and a still more thrilling escape from being eaten, for soldiers are hungry fellows.

"The Heavenly Circus" will certainly delight any youngster into whose hands it happens to fall and it will be jealously guarded as a precious treasure.

"The Potter's House." A novel. By Isabel C. Clarke, 8vo., cloth, net, $2.00. Postage, 15 cents. "Denys the Dreamer." A novel. By Katharine Tynan Hinkson. 8vo., cloth, net, $2.00. "Bobby in Movieland." A juvenile. By Francis J. Finn, S. J., with frontispiece. 12mo., cloth, net, $1.50. Postage, 10 cents. "Signals From the Bay Tree." A juvenile. By H. S. Spalding, S. J., with frontispiece. 12mo., cloth, net, $1.50. Postage, 10 cents. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Here is a notable group of Catholic fiction, all from the house of Benziger. They are from the pens of well-known authors, who have already proved themselves. The first two are for mature readers, while the second two are juveniles.

In the "Potter's House," Miss Clarke adds another interesting

and instructive story to her long list. She is happy as usual in her description of scenes and delineation of character. The story begins in England, and moves into Italy, principally Rome and Assisi, and then returns to England for the finish. It deals with the question of mixed marriages, and brings out very clearly, but in an inoffensive way, the Catholic doctrine on the subject in contrast with the view of Anglicans and other non-Catholics.

It has been frequently said that the novelist should not instruct, and that novels are for amusement only. But that is not true. The novel may be made a most useful channel of instruction, and consciously or unconsciously the novelist must teach. What is the novel after all except a stage on which men and women move back and forth playing their parts while the scene shifts to make a setting for their movements. They are human beings with all their strength and weakness, virtues and vices, ambitions, vanities and jealousies. By word and act they give good example or bad, and they edify or scandalize the reader, while they interest him and amuse him. But the novelist cannot shirk his responsibility. He is owner and lessee of the theatre, he is stage manager, he is author.

It is common for unscrupulous and mercenary theatrical managers to excuse themselves for unworthy productions by saying that they give the public what it wants, and therefore they are not responsible. Some novelists make the same defense. As well might the druggist excuse himself for selling the most deadly poisons to the public indiscriminately. And if it be necessary to defend people against poison in the physical order, by safeguarding them with protective laws, how much more necessary in the moral order. Therefore the novelist does teach, and the novel does harm or good even while it amuses, and there are good and bad novelists, and their merits do not consist altogether, or even principally, in their power to entertain.

And so to come back to the story before us, it is interesting, it is amusing, it is entertaining, but it is at the same time instructive. It shows the evil of mixed marriages and the fallacy of the doctrine that principle is to be sacrificed for temporary happiness, which quickly changes into misery.

In "Denys the Dreamer" the scene shifts to Ireland, always the land of beauty, poetry and adventure, and very much in the eye of the world at the present time.

It is almost a truism to say that no one can write of Ireland and the Irish except an Irishman or Irish woman. There is something elusive about the land and the people which only one who is native

to the soil with all its distinctive manners, customs and traditions can hope to grasp.

The writer, so long and so widely admired under her maiden name Katharine Tynan, was happy far beyond the common in delineating the best aspects of Irish character. Her novel is a typical and charming example of her talent and the various contrasted female figures in the story are drawn with an equally sympathetic and intelligent insight. Not a page of the book is dull.

The field for juveniles is unlimited. Children read like they eat —in chunks. And they are no less discriminating in one operation than in the other. You cannot fool them. They know a real boy when they see him. They know how he dresses, and how he talks and how he plays, and they cannot be deceived by any counterfeit. An author will not last long, nor get very far, who sets up mannikis or marionettes and calls them boys. Juveniles must be up to date. They must introduce all the latest inventions, and they must know their value in the affairs of boys.

Now, Father Finn's latest story carries a special appeal for this reason: it takes the reader into the moving picture country and into the studio; it brings him into contact with moving picture people, both producers and actors; it introduces Bobby, the hero, into the picture, and it shows the very important part which even children play in this great modern field of industry and amusement.

Whether intentional or not, there is a very striking resemblance between Bobby and the comedian in this story and a well-known boy actor and better known comedian who have recently appeared on the screen together throughout the country.

The plot of the story is very interesting and serves excellently to bring the characters and scenes together. The boys and girls are sure to like it, and boys and girls of a larger growth are sure to borrow it.

The second juvenile on our list is from the pen of a Jesuit also, and this only emphasizes what has been said about the importance of good books for young persons. No one knows this better than the sons of Ignatius, who have exceptional opportunities of learning it in the schools where they spend so many teaching years. And this experience also gives them an quipment for producing such books. They gain an intimate knowledge of the boy in their schools, and therefore it is not surprising that the best juvenile writers of the day are members of the Society of Jesus, and not the least of them is Father Spalding. He has already a goodly list of

juveniles to his credit. His latest story of outdoor life will be devoured by the boys, for it is just the kind that will appeal to them. A description of it says:

"With all the fascination of outdoor life and adventure of his other books, Father Spalding has added such novelty and mystery to this new story that it will be read with much zest. Relating in his usual colorful style, interspersed with choice bits of bird and nature lore, the camping trip of three boys into the almost unexplored regions of the Ten Thousand Islands and the Everglades of Florida, he adds enough thrills of rattler and bear attacks, searches for a treasure chest and its subsequent robbery and the pursuit, to make the story all that a boy could desire."

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